

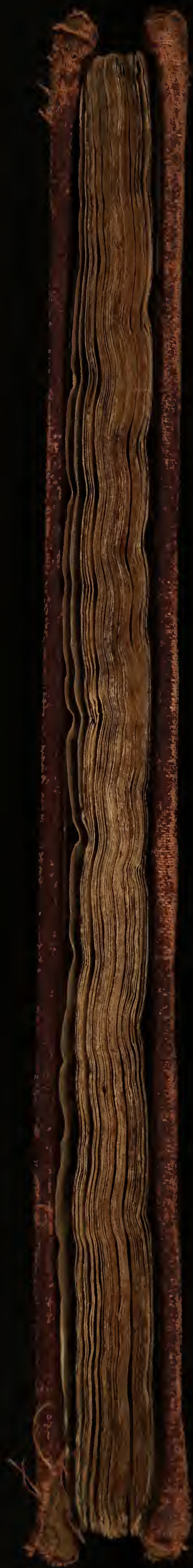


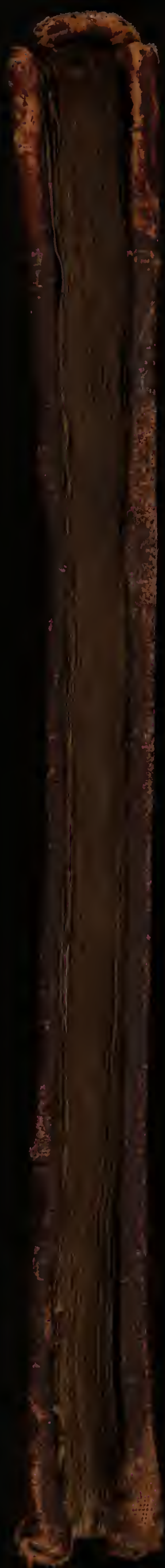
THE SUREY

IMPOSTOR

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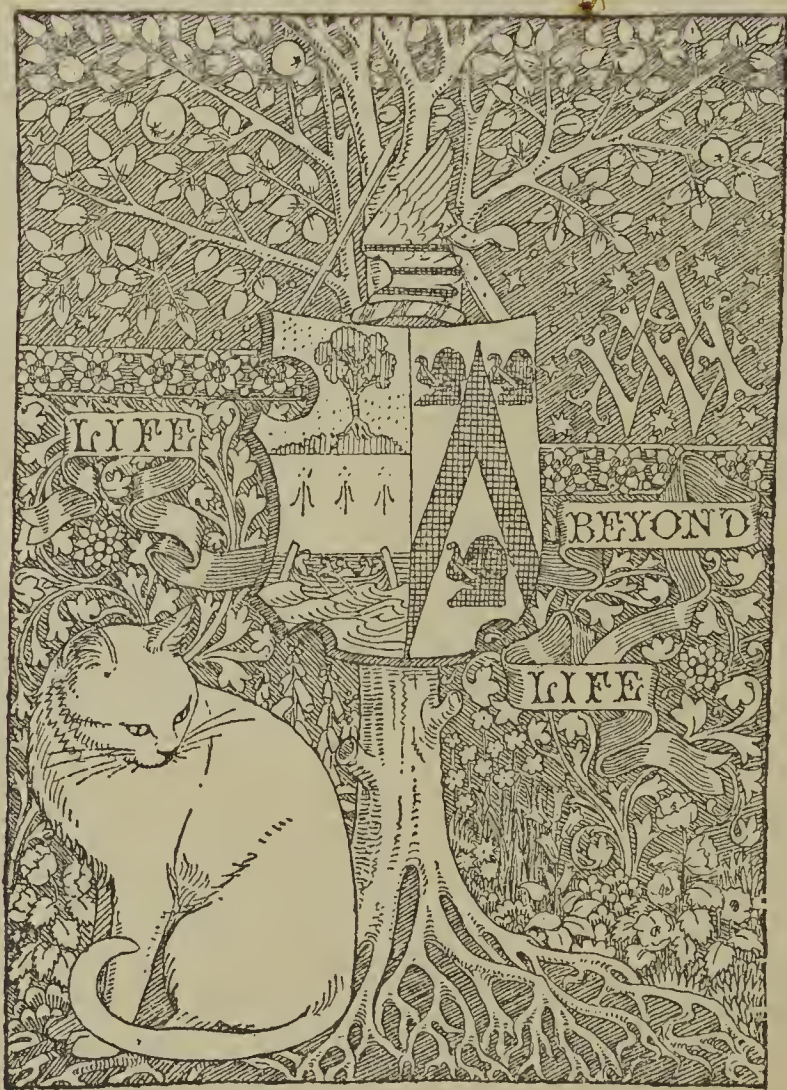






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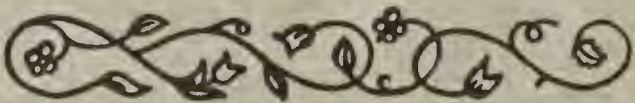


Richard Sugdale, the "Surrey  
Demagogue" was gardener to  
Sir Edmund Archeson, of Whalley  
Abbey, & was either a lunatic or  
an impostor; the latter undoubtedly,  
as we are to believe the tradition  
of the place, which reports that he  
was effectually exorcised by a  
threatened commitment before a  
neighbouring magistrate.

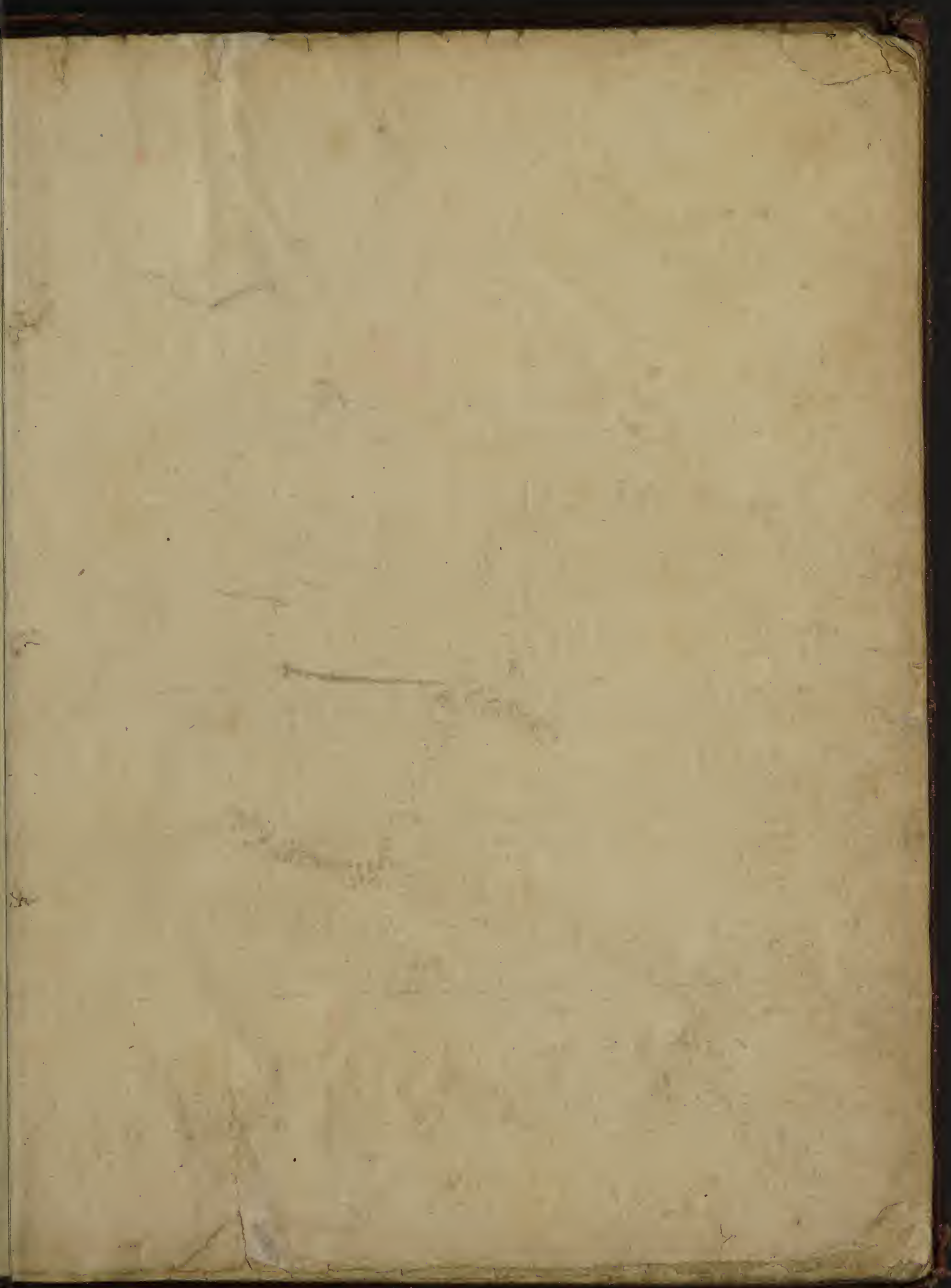
Sep 1894

EX  
Libris

*David Laing Philips*











*The Surey Impostor.*

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**T**HE Reader is desired to take Notice, That  
(through the Carelessness of the Cutter) the Hand  
in Sir *Edmund Ashton's* Coat of Arms, mention'd p. 17.  
is left out.



THE  
Surey Impostor:  
BEING AN  
ANSWER  
TO A LATE  
Fanatical Pamphlet,  
ENTITLED  
*The Surey Demoniack.*

M. A.  
By ZACH. TAYLOR, A. M.  
And One of the King's Preachers for the County-Palatine  
of Lancaster.

Prov. 18. 17. *He that is first in his own Cause seemeth just ; but his Neighbour cometh (וְחָקְרוּ) & Investigabit eum. Vulg. Pagn. Ec.) and findeth him out.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for John Jones, at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard ; and Ephraim Johnson, Bookseller in Manchester. MDCXCVII.

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## To the Dissenting Ministers,

Mr. Jolly, and }  
Mr. Carrington, } The Compilers of,

Mr. { Sagar, Kershaw, Waddington, }	} { Mr. { Whalley, Frankland, Heywood, }	} Constant, or Occasionally Assisters at,	} The Impostor of the Surey Demoniack.
Mr. { Th. Crompton, Jo. Crompton, Parr, Angier, }	} { Mr. { Heywood, Eaton, Scholes, }	} Assisters to	

Gentlemen,

**T**HE Foundation, whereof I am an unworthy Member, being intended for the Preservation of His Majesty's Subjects from falling into Errors; especially such as tend to Popery: And a late scandalous Pamphlet, Intitul'd, The Surey Demoniac, looking altogether that way; I thought my self in Duty to God and His Majesty (whose Servants we are) bound to signify to the World the Impostor of it. And the Discovery of this Cheat is dedicated to You, Gentlemen; not that it seeks your Patronage, but your Reformation.

For I beseech You, Gentlemen, consider the Evil you have done in Publishing a wild Story, for a Religious Truth, in this Sceptical and Irreligious Age. You find (if you have any Converse with Men or Books) that there are Persons who make it their study to explode all Revealed Religion out of the World: And since the Truth of Christianity is much grounded on the Miracles that our Saviour and his Apostles wrought; one Instance of which, was this Power of casting out Devils: What occasion have you given these nimble Disputants, to call in question the Truth of what our blessed Saviour did, by Foisting up an Imposture, which Mr. Jolly hath declared to be as real a Possession, as any in the Gospel?

This Trade, which you have learn'd from the Papists, was design'd to ensnare honest and well-meaning, but easy People: For since neither you, nor they, can by Arguments justify your Superstitions and Divisions from the establish'd Church; you were forc'd to fly to little Shifts and Tricks, that by working on weak Peoples Fancies, you might win those to your Party, by Craft and Wiles, which you could not by Reason and Religion.

The Papists first, and you from them did learn to play this Game; for that the Reader may not think the pretence of yours to cast out Devils, to be some new Gift lately bestow'd upon you, I must acquaint him, that it is an old Juggle that our Predecessors, the Puritans, practis'd: They indeed acted on their own Bottom, and were not made such Tools to Papists, as you have been: But their Knavery, as well as yours, was discover'd; of which take the following Account, out of Dr. Heylin's History of Presbytry, p. 348. §. 13. ad Ann. 1596.

§. 13. About this time brake out the Jugglings of John Darrel, who, without any lawful Calling, had set up a new Trade of Lecturing in the Town of Nottingham; and, to  
advance



advance some Reputation to his Person, pretends an extraordinary Power in casting out Devils. He practis'd first on one Cath. Wright, An. 1586. but finding some more powerful Practices to be then on foot, in favour of the Presbyterian Discipline, he laid that Project by, till all others fail'd him. But in the Year, 1592. he resumes the Practice, hoping to compass that by Wit and Legerdemain, which neither Cartwright by his Learning, nor Snape by his Diligence, Penry by his Seditious, or Hacket by his damnable Treasons, had the good Fortune to effect. He first begins with William Summers, an unhappy Boy, whom he first met with at Ashby de la Zouch, in the County of Leicester. Him he instructs to do such Tricks, as might make him seem to be posses'd, acquaints him with the manner of the Fits which were observed by Cath. Wright, delivers them in Writing to him for his better remembrance, wished him to put the same in practice, and told him, That in so doing he should not want. But either finding no great forwardness in the Boy to learn his Lesson, or being otherwise discourag'd from proceeding with him; he applies himself to one Tho. Darling, commonly call'd the Boy of Burton, Anno 1596. whom he found far more dextrous in his Dissimulations; the History of whose Possessions and Dispossession, was writ at large by Jesse Bee, a religious sad Liar; contracted by one Denison, a Country-minister; seen and allowed by Hilderham (one of the principal Sticklers in the Cause of Presbytery) and printed with the good leave and liking of Darrel himself: Who, growing famous by this means, remembers Summers, his first Scholar, to whom he gives a 2d Meeting at the Park of Ashby; teacheth him to act them better than before he did; sends him to see the Boy at Burton, that he might learn him to behave himself on the like Occasions. And finding him at last grown perfect, sends him to Nottingham, with intimation that he should make mention of him in his Fits. Darrel is hereupon made Lecturer of the Town of Nottingham (that being the Fish for which he Angled) as being thought a marvellous Bug to scare the Devil. And tho' he had no lawful Calling in that behalf; yet was this given out to be so comfortable a Vocation, and so warrantable in the sight of God, that very few Ministers have had the like; there being no Preacher settled there (as he gave it out) since her Majesty's Reign; as if neither Parsons, nor Vicars, nor any that bear such Popish Names, might pass for Preachers.

§. 14. After this, he pretends occasion for a Journey to Lancashire, where he finds 7 Women posses'd with Devils, and out of every one of them was affirmed to have cast as many, as had entred into Mary Magdalen. Of this he publish'd a Book, Anno 1600. tho' the Exploit was done in this present Year, 1597. These Things being nois'd abroad by his Confederates, this extraordinary Faculty of casting out Devils was most highly magnified and cried up, both in Sermons and printed Pamphlets, as a Candle lighted by God upon a Candlestick, in the Heart and Centre of the Land. And no small hopes were built upon it, that it would prove a Matter of as great consequence, as ever did any such Work that the Lord gave extraordinarily, since the time that he restored the Gospel; and as profitable to all that profess the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Now what this Plot was, may appear by this which is depos'd by Mr. More, one of Mr. Darrel's great Admirers and Companions, viz. That when a Prayer was read out of the Common-prayer Book, in the hearing of those which were posses'd in Lancashire, the Devils in them were little moved with it: But afterwards, when Mr. Darrel and one Mr. Dicon, did severally use such Prayers, as for the present Occasion they had conceiv'd, then (saith he) the wicked Spirits were much more troubled (or rather the wicked Spirits did much more torment the Parties: So little do premeditated Prayers which are read out of a Book; and so extremely do Extemporary and conceived Prayers torment the Devil.

§. 15. But Summers at the last grown weary of his frequent Counterfeittings, tired out with his Possessions, Dispossession and Repossessions; in that Fit discovers all to be but Forgeries, and to have been acted by Confederacy. Darrel deals with him to revoke his said Confession, seeks to avoid it by some Shifts, discredits it by false Reports; and finally, procures a Commission from the A. B. of York (so whose Province Nottingham belongeth)



to examine the Business. A Commission is thereupon directed to John Thorald, Esq; Sheriff of the County; Sir John Byron, Kt. John Stanhope, Esq. (most of them being Darrel's Friends) the Commission executed, March 20. No fewer than 17 Witnesses examined by it; and the Return is made, That he was no Counterfeit. But the Boy stands to it for all that; and on the last of the same Month confesseth before the Mayor of Nottingham, and certain Justices of the Peace, the whole contrivement of the Plot; and, within 3 Days after, acts all his Tricks before the L. C. Justice, at the publick Assizes. Upon this News, the Boy of Burton also makes the like Confession. Darrel thereupon is convented by the High Commissioners at Lambeth, and by them committed; his Friends and Partizans upon that Commitment are in no small Fury; which notwithstanding he and one of his Associates receive their Censure, little or nothing eased by the Exclamations of his Friends and Followers, who bitterly inveighed against the Judgment and Judges too. To still whose Clamours, so maliciously and unjustly raised, the Story of these leud Impostors is writ by Harsener, then being the Domestick Chaplain of A. B. Whitgift; by whom, collected faithfully out of the Depositions of the Parties and Witnesses, and publish'd in the next Year following, Anno-1599.

There are others of the same nature which Dr. Heylin mentions out of Dr. Harsner, (who died A. B. of York) his Book against Darrel, and Camden's Eliz. which I pass over; for the Knavery of Darrel's being so fully discover'd, the Party, I imagine, ceased from such religious Interludes, till this time that the Surey Demoniack appears upon the Stage; by which we have reason to suspect, that the Party hath a Mind to play over an old Game; and since Truth cannot serve them, to try what Legerdemain will do.

But pray, Gentlemen, give me your Opinion of Mr. Waddington's Maxim, p. 23. Vox Populi, Vox Dei; the Voice of God, and Madnes of the People (which it is his Omnipotency alone that can command) are somewhat unequally yok'd together: And Darrel, your Predecessor, when the Cry of the People went against him, thought the Voice of the People, to be rather Vox Diaboli, p. 170. the Out-cry of the Devil. I desire you also would inquire of Mr. C. whence it was that he learnt it to be a Maxim among the Devils, That none should be tormented before his time, p. 18. For tho' the Devil useth those Words for a Plea unto our Saviour, Mat. 8. 29. I cannot find, they were admitted for a Maxim, by any but Mr. C.

Tell me, I beseech you, if any of you take these Words to be Satans, as they are pretended, p. 16. Carrington, I see thou droopest sadly, and art miserably dejected. Alas! poor C. wilt thou have a Posset, or some Barly-Pye-Crust to cherish and strengthen thee, and to keep thee from Swounding. Is not this plainly a Ridicule upon him? See p. 126. Or what will you say to these Words, which are pretended also to be Satans, p. 35. I would treat them with Puddings and Browes: And as for B. O the B! there is a Chair of State prepared in Hell for him, and thy unbelieving Bedfellow shall follow him. Here Mr. C. would make one believe, that the Devil had look'd into the Book of Life, and found his Bedfellows Name, as well his own, wanting there, p. 35. Tho' at his pleasure he can make the Devil renounce some of his Friends, that seemingly died in lamentable Omissions and Commissions, p. 16. being in Hell, as Satan had affirmed, p. 17.

What do you think of that Expression, p. 20. I am sure if the Holy Spirit and our Hearts do once tell their Mind to the Father, for thy going hence, &c. that then thou can't stay no longer there. What doth it want of Blasphemy to join your Hearts with the Holy Spirit in his Intercessions to the Father? The Holy Spirit doth help our Infirmities in Prayer, but that our Hearts with all their Infirmities should be join'd with the Holy Spirit, in pouring out inutterable Groans and Intercessions (these are the very Words) to the Father, is such a piece of Fanaticism, as nothing but being Goddell with God, and Christed with Christ, which is the Language of some Quakers, is able to equal.

I desire also to know, since you are Divines, and therefore Casuists, Whether the idle Quotations of Holy Scripture which is preached throughout the Narrative, be not a Sin  
against



against the Third Commandment? If it be not, the Assembly of Divines, your great Con-  
 Larg. Catech. sistory, are very much in the wrong; for among the Things prohibited in that Com mand-  
 ment they mention, The Misinterpreting, Misapplying, or any way Perverting  
 the Word, or any part of it, to prophane Jest, curious or unprofitable Questions, vain  
 Janglings, &c. If it be, pray tell me what relation Luke 8. 5, & 12. (the Words are, v. 5. A Sower  
 went out to sow his Seed; and as he sowed, some fell by the Way-side, and it was troden  
 down, and the Fowls of the Air devoured it, v. 12. These by the Way-side are they that  
 hear; then cometh the Devil and taketh away the Word out of their Hearts, lest they should  
 believe and be saved. Pray tell me what relation this hath to the featherless Peacocks being  
 the fowlest Fowl in the Air, to which p. 10 it is mixed; whether by way of Proof, or to abuse  
 Holy Scripture, I desire you would inform me. His May-pole Rounls, 2 Kings 18. 26. is as im-  
 pertinent as this is. But his Masquerading would have done well enough, Deut. 22. 5. bad Men  
 and Women, in such Vagaries, always chang'd their Habit.

Contrive, I intreat you, what is possible to be said for Deut. 18. 22. being made use of, to prove,  
 That the delay of Printing the Narrative, was for its Advantage, Pref. I was so indeed; for  
 through distance of time many Circumstances are forgot, which is for your Advantage; but what hath  
 Deut. 18. 22. to do with this? When a Prophet speaketh in the Name of the Lord, if the  
 thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken; but  
 the Prophet hath spoken presumptuously, you shall not be afraid of him. A little while af-  
 ter he impiously tells us, That he to whom belong the Issues of Death, seem'd at last to rescue  
 it from the Death it thus long lay under, and to over-rule the Obstructions of it, Rev. 12. 4.  
 (the Words are, And his Tail drew the third part of the Stars of Heaven, and did cast them  
 to the Earth; and the Dragon stood before the Woman, which was ready to be delivered, for  
 to devour her Child as soon as it was born) for the furthering of its Production, Acts 5. 36,  
 39. (the Words are, And now I say unto you, Refrain from these Men, and let them alone;  
 for if this Counsel, or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye  
 cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight against God) and to say let it live, &c.  
 If it be a Sin to misapply Holy Scripture, and a breach of the Third Commandment; of all the Books  
 that have seen the Light in this last Century, I am apt to believe, that none hath taken Gods Word in vain  
 more than this Narrative doth; for of 200 and some odd Texts, which (besides the Texts preach'd on at  
 the Fast-days) are here alluded to, whoever will lose so much Pains as to examine them, will not find  
 (I am pretty sure) above one third part of them properly applied, the rest being nothing but vain Janglings.

Once more, and I have done. Gentlemen, if you have any sense of Sobriety in Religion, how could you  
 suffer such a shatter'd piece of Enthusiasm to Preface the Narrative, as the Night-warning (as it  
 is called) of Nov. 18. 1693. appears to be? Behmont is a sober Man in comparison of Mr. C. for he  
 takes care that his Railing Ecstasies may have some sort of a Coherence in them; whereas Mr. C.'s are  
 so many broken Shreds of Inconsistency, viz: This cannot be endured. What cannot be endured? If  
 you were awake Mr. C. so are we; and since Fancy must be your Interpreter, why may it not be ours?  
 Go on then, Therefore prepare for—or Death. For what? To print the Narrative. And why not  
 to burn it? For that had been more for the Honour of Religion, and your Reputation too. Again, Thou  
 shalt e're long die, or. Or what? Neither he, nor any Mortal can tell. But from this we may guess  
 what's to be expected from the Narrative. As for what is related of Capt. Bell, I take it to be (if not a  
 Dream) a Story of the same nature with a great many of those, that are contained in the Book that he  
 Translated; nor am I any thing concerned in it.

These, and such Impieties as these, which are multiplied in the Narrative, cannot but raise in any  
 Person that hath a respect and reverence for God, Religion and Truth, a just and holy Indignation: If  
 therefore, Gentlemen, you meet with any Reflections, that you think a little too sharp; bethink your  
 selves what an Iliad of Prophaneness, as this you have publish'd, doth deserve. Our Saviour did  
 not collogue with the Scribes and Pharisees, but plainly told them what they were: We must not give  
 soft Words unto your Sins, but set our Faces as Adamant, against them who have made their Foreheads  
 Brass. This is the only method to bring such Persons, as you are, to Repentance; for smooth Words can  
 never have a good effect on those that scruple not to prophane (for private Ends of their own) Gods  
 Word, and insinuate their Hypocritical Frauds unto the Prerogative of his Works. The just Censures and  
 Reproaches that you fall under, you may remember were occasioned by your selves, who would not take  
 the timely and charitable Advice of,

Gentlemen,

A Friend that dares not flatter you,

ZACH. TAYLOR.

At



*An Answer to a late Fanatical Pamphlet,  
stil'd, The Surey Demoniac.*

**T**HE Mystery of the *Surey* Demoniac is such a Master-piece of complicated Iniquity, as I believe the World may admit for an Original. Two different Parties will be found contending for the Glory of a Miracle. One acts underhand, and by Art and Cunning abuseth the superstitious Credulity of some Interlopers. The other appears openly upon the Stage, plays the sanctified Buffoon, and then cryeth out, That they have won the Prize.

In my Answer I shall take Notice of both these. And First, Give a Reply to the Narrative, Depositions, &c. And then

Secondly, Discover to the Dissenting Ministers, whose Tools they have been, in those Religious Scenes which they so publickly have acted.

The Answer to be returned to the Narrative, must proceed upon the same Grounds, which the Narrative it self doth, *viz.* The vain Opinion, that the Dissenting Ministers have cast out a Devil, and a Desire the World should believe so too. This is the Glory they have assumed to themselves; and the Vanity of it, is what I am now to expose: And since (not understanding whose Enquiries they were) they have printed it as a Thing Real, as a Thing Real I am obliged to Answer it. For tho' they were imposed upon, yet since they arrogate the Merit of the Fact unto themselves, they have made it Personal, and as such I must treat them.

But before I proceed to answer the Particulars of the Narrative, it is very necessary, that we should previously cast an Eye upon the Model of it, as it is presented to us; and the Persons that were most active in the Edition of it: For if the very Frame of it betray a Design, and the Editors be found Insincere; we have Reason to stand upon our Guard, and examine (as suspecting) every Thing that is contained in it. Now

First, For the Model of the Narrative it is altogether so framed and contrived, that nothing is more apparent in it than a studied Design of Popularity and Vain-glory. Cast but your Eye upon it, and you shall find it so artificially methodized into several Branches, and broken into Parts, that at the several Turns, either some Action of the pretended Demoniac, or some Reply of the pretended In-



habiting Spirit, gives occasion to the Minister to shew his Parts and Eloquence in a copious Harangue.

Thus, in the very Entry, when he should give us an Account how the Demoniack came to be possessed, p. 2. he refers us to the Discourse of Sept. 26. And why this? But because there the Devil will afford Time, a Subject to resolve a Casuistical Point on, and inform the World, That there is no Irrecoverable Danger in delivering themselves up to Satan by a Wish, or a Vow, for *that such Gift may be redeemed, or rescued from Satan, as the Womans Vow disallowed by her Husband was void, her Husband bore her Iniquity, and the Lord forgave it, Numb. 30. 5. 18. 15. So he may be betrothed to Christ, Hos. 2. 16, 19. Who nulling such a Vow, and bearing its Iniquity, it shall be pardoned, &c. p. 29.*

Here is good Incouragement for Witches and Wizards; they may cheat the Devil, if their former Husband will but disallow their Vow. Now, Reader, pray observe, that the condition of the Vow is, *That he must excel others in Dancing*, p. 29. as is there pretended; upon which the Narrator goes on, and tells us, *That many of the By-standers, struck with Wonder, declared how they heard Richard speak those Words, when he had a Mind to dance with a young Woman, &c.* But sure, Reader, you will be more struck with Wonder, when I have told you, That Richard protests he never uttered such a Wish, or made such a Vow (and then I wonder how they came to hear it) nor doth he know any thing of it, but that he was told he said so in one of his Fits; which is agreeable to what Seller deposeth, *That asking him, when he was sensible, whether he had not made some Contract with the Devil? he answered, Would you have me to Lie? So oft had he denied it: And both Dugdale the Father, and Walmsley, in their Informations before Mr. Braddyll, attest to his affirming, That he knew not how his Disorder came.*

And here we see another Reason why what should have been related in the beginning of the Account, was thus long delay'd: It would not only here become the Theme of another Declamation, but the Truth is, Richard had then heard nothing of it, and all the Ground of it is, the pretended Spirits Intimation of it; who, if he was the Devil, ought not to be believed; but then Mr. Carrington would have lost a noble Flight of Rhetorick, such as the Description of Richard's Dancing is, p. 32. *Wherein he excelled all that the Spectators had seen, or heard of, or probably all that meer Mortals could perform; for he oft, for 6 or 7 times together, leapt up so, as that part of his Legs might be seen shaking and quavering above the Heads of the People; from which heights he oft fell down on his Knees, which he long shiver'd and travers'd on the Ground, at least as nimbly as other Men can twinkle or sparkle their Fingers; then springing up into his high Leaps again, and then falling on his Feet which seemed to reach the Earth, but with the gentlest and scarce perceivable Touches, when he made his highest Leaps, &c.*

Here



## Surey Demoniack.

3

Here follows another Speech. *What, Satan? is this the Dancing that Richard gave himself to thee for? &c.* Afterwards it follows, *Canst thou Dance no better?* p. 33. *Ransack the old Records of all past Times and Places, in thy Memory: Canst thou not there find out some other way of finer Trampling? Pump thine Invention dry; Cannot that universal Seed-plot of subtil Wiles and Stratagems, spring up one new method of cutting Capers? Is this the top of Skill and Pride to shuffle Feet, and brandish Knees thus, and to trip like a Doe, and skip like a Squirrel? And wherein differs thy leapings from the hoppings of a Frog, or bounces of a Goat, or friskings of a Dog, or gesticulations of a Monkey? And cannot a Palsey shake such a loose Leg as that? Dost thou not twirl like a Calf that bath the Turn, and twitch up thy Houghs just like a spring-hault Tit? &c.* Now such Discourse as this, may be fit to cast out such a Devil as was there; but certainly it is nothing akin to that Fasting and Prayer which our Saviour mentions, and they will needs herein pretend to follow; but how truly, this and the rest of his Rhodomantado Dialogues will satisfactorily evince; for the violence of the Convulsions distorting his Body into various Shapes and Postures, they take these to be wild Tricks and sportive Frolics of unimitable Dexterity, p. 10. And quickly then he thus bespeaks the Devil. *Can thy stout Stomach stoop to personate a Merry Andrew? Wert thou the Inventor, or only an old Practitioner of these silly Trifles, that makes thee so surpassing skilful at them? What little pedling Knacks wilt thou next entertain us with? Art not thou a notable Dealer in May-pole Rounds, 2 Kings 18. 26. Masquerades, Deut. 22. 5. Rush-bearings, Morrice-dances, Whitson-Ales, Fortune-telling, Legerdemain, Lotteries, Midnight Revels, and in lewd Ballads, Pictures, Comedies and Romances? Oh how well it becomes thy haughty Stateliness, thus vilely to sneak to such mimical Apishness, and basest Mummeries, &c.*

I should be tedious if I followed him through all his Stages; for he on purpose seems to have broke the Story into Parcels, that he may have opportunity to shew his Parts on all. Insomuch, that his very Questions propounded to the Devil, seem studiously design'd for an Harangue upon his Answer. For instance, *He asks the Devil who it is that he boasted to be the Top of his Kindred*, p. 37. And Satan is made to answer, *That the chief that he belonged to, was Beelzebub.* Hereupon the Minister holds forth, *Thou ownest then thou art but an Underling Slave, and a poor diminutive One indeed, if thou be under no greater a Devil than Beelzebub, the Lord of Flies, which rebellious Flies contemn'd his Lordship, so as he could not keep them from sucking the Reakings of his Pagan Sacrifices.*

This is a noble Flight indeed! But doth he not betray his Ignorance, when playing on the Word *Beelzebub*, the Lord of Flies? He adds, *which Rebellious Flies contemn'd his Lordship, &c.* Whereas that Name was given him on account of his supposed powerful Energy to drive away those Vermin, as the Greek ἀπολυτῶ, and



Olympia  
sacro, cer-  
tamine, nu-  
bes earum  
(viz. musca-  
rum) Immo-  
lato Tauro.  
Deo, quem  
Myiodem vo-  
cant, extra  
territorium  
id abire, lib.  
29. c. 26.

Pliny's observation might have told him ; and they that think that Name Imposed from those Swarms of Flies, that did attend his Sacrifices (which is *Bede's* Opinion) are so far from Imagining it to be in Contempt (as the Editor will have it) to his Lordship, that they affirm it to be done by way of Homage and Acknowledgment, unto their Lord and Master. But had he taken notice of this, his Sarcastical Wit upon the Devil had been lost.

Then, good Mr. Carrington, consider what you say, There are one sort of People had need to have good Memories ; and in the Harangue you have to the Devil, on his challenging you to Speak Latin, or Greek, p. 13. you have these Words, p. 14. *Didst thou learn all these Tongues and Idioms, by thy long Travels thro' the Earth in all those times wherein they flourish'd, or by conversing with all in Hell, that great Emporium, whither Men resort of all Ages, Speeches and Countries ? But is it not better to speak that one Language of thine old Heavenly Country, which I hope to learn, and thou hast irrecoverably forgot, than to be so universal a Linguist as thou pretendest to be ?* Mr. Carrington, do you tell us the Devil hath irrecoverably forgot Hebrew ? (for that you mean by the Language of his Old Heavenly Country) which you hoped about this time to have learn'd, from one that I had Reason to be well acquainted with : And doth he afterwards tell you, that his Master's Name is *Beelzebub*, which is an Hebrew Name ? How are these Things Consistent ? And since (as you say) Men of all Speeches and Countries, converse with the Devil in that great Emporium of Hell, do you not think that such Schismatics, as *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* were, go thither ? And why might not the Devil (according to your learned Notion) by conversing with such a parcel of Schismatics, rub up some Memoirs of that Language of his Old Country ?

These, and your other many Frothy Speeches, will mightily Shock the Credibility of your Narrative ; especially when we, with some of your Professors (as you cantingly call them) call in Question, p. 23. the Lawfulness of your talking thus familiarly with Satan. You say, indeed, *That sound Reason, and especially the Bible, that Epitome of all past, present and future Libraries, that sure Rule for all Actions*, 2 Pet. 1. 19. (the Words are, *We have also a more sure Word of Prophecy*) that *Oraculous Resolver of all Cases*, Rom. 3. 2. (the Words are, *Unto them were committed the Oracles of God*) gave sufficient Satisfaction about it. Pray Mr. Carrington where is it ? For I have purposely transcribed the Texts, that your Bigotted Followers may see it is not there ; and I confess my self so Ignorant, I can find no Authority for it in my Bible. I meet with the Archangel disputing with the Devil ; but his Words were few, *The Lord rebuke thee*, Jud. v. 5. And I find he durst not be so bold as you are, or bring any railing Accusation against him. He reproaches him not with his Condition, comparing it with that of his own (and I take St. Michael the Archangel to be in as good a Condition as Mr.

Carrington



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Carrington is in) yet this you do, p. 9. *Am I in a condition to be Laught at by thee, who art irrecoverably fallen into worse Case than the most poysonous stinging Serpent is in? Ah! Poor Friend, for all thy Grimness and Rhodomantadoes, I'd not be in thy Plight for a Thousand Worlds.* And when the Devil would have diverted your Discourse a little, yet you tell us, all the while you thus talkt to him; Now, Angel, where is all thy dazzling Grandeur? And what's become of thy pompous Magnificence? How didst thou brandish in ample State, amongst the Potentates and Powers, among, &c. p. 19. You that are so full of your Scripture-proofs, that within Six Lines following you produce one, viz. Luk. 8. 5, 12. to prove a Featherless Peacock to be the very foulest Fowl of the Air, ought to have produced one at least to have cleared your self (had it been possible) from that gross Enthusiasm you here stand guilty of. I might go on to tell, that I neither find our Saviour, nor his Apostles, nor any one that in the Primitive times had the Gift of casting out Devils, to make such Speeches to them as you do.

But let us proceed. And you confess it to be *unlawful, if it be by way of Eve's Curiosity*, p. 23. I will not examine your Divinity in this Point; but I take it to be Curiosity, if not in Eve, in Mr. Carrington, to bespeak the Devil in this Language, p. 9. *Art thou freer from Torments whilst in this Body, than thou wert before?* Because the Devil moved the same Question not much above a year ago to a Popish Priest, \* *Dost thou not think it better, saith the Devil, to be here, than in Hell?* By which he seems to assert it was. \* The Devil turn'd Casuist. But the Popish Priest said, No: And Mr. Carrington, by his Interrogation, which implies a Negation, seems to be of the same Mind; so the Priest and Mr. Carrington are agreed. But since they bring no Reason for their Opinion, and the Devil is against it, you are left to believe the Devil or them, as you see good. And what is it, to ask the Devil, *Whether he likes Heaven or Hell better?* p. 55. If it be not Curiosity, I am sure it is gross Superstitious Vanity. Another unlawful Case there named, is, *Manasse's Familiarity*, 2 Chron. 33. 6. Now by the Speeches that pass between Mr. Carrington and the Devil, one would be tempted to think that they were Familiar enough, and understand one another pretty well.

But to come to an end; What is the Resolution of these Learned Divines, in this great Case of Conscience? And we are told, p. 24. *The Ministers consulted hereon, gave no Judgment against it, but Experience was for it.* How! gave no Judgment in so weighty a Matter, on which the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of all their Conferences with Satan depended? This Neglect is very Faulty, and bespeaks them to be either so ignorant they could not, or so careless they would not Resolve the Point. But *Experience was for it.* Say you so Mr. Carrington? Never any, but the Presidents of Popish Priests; and you do well to tell us whose Steps you follow.



low. Pray, Reader, remember what a Secret is here published, *The Dissenting Ministers in a Consult upon a Case of Conscience, and a weighty One too, wholly found themselves, and their Practices, on the sole Examples of the Popish Priests; Experience, say they, was for it; and there is no Experience that I have yet met with, besides their own, but that of the Church of Rome.* I will now consider,

Secondly, The sincerity of the Editors. In Matters of this Weight, nothing ought more to be the Care and Study of the Publishers, than Ingenuity and Integrity; for if we be found Tripping herein, we expose not only our selves, but our whole Party; especially if the Leaders of them (as in the present Case) be conspiring with us to promote the Intreague; which makes me admire that so many of the Ministers should, by their Interfering in it, or subscribing to it, countenance such a Rapsody of Fanaticism, as this will be found to be.

The Persons Intrusted with this Affair, were chiefly (as far as I can learn) Mr. Jolly, and Mr. Carrington; it was Mr. Jolly's Province to muster the Witnesses, and Mr. Carrington to write the Narrative. What sincerity they have used, and how faithfully each hath discharged his respective Task, I shall now proceed to shew.

And I begin with Mr. Jolly, not only because he leads the Van, but because the Narrative ought to have been composed out of the Materials, which the Witnesses, he was to manage, supplied them with: And I charge him with Disingenuity, on these Accounts;

1. When he was to meet the Justices of Peace, Mr. Bradyll, and Mr. Egerton, at *Darwen*, he brought a Paper along with him (which at present I have by me) and would have had the Justices to have Sworn the Witnesses to the Things therein contained, not leaving them to the liberty of their own Words; which was by no means fair, and therefore not allowed by the Justices; but there was a Reason for it, as you may gather from what follows. For,

2. I charge him with concealing part of the Evidence, that was at *Darwen* attested before the Justices. You need but cast an Eye on the Depositions, compar'd with Mr. Bradyll's Papers (which follow afterwards) and there you will discover it. Now would you know the Reason of this their stifling the Evidence? *Dugdale* the Father, and their thorough-pac'd Man *Walmesley*, had blab'd too much; for both of them tell you, *That the Youth did not know how his Distemper came*; and that would have spoil'd the Story of the Rush-bearing, and his then giving his Soul to the Devil on Condition, that he might be a good Dancer, as before I hinted. Then *Walmesley* tells you, *That notwithstanding their Preaching and Praying, he could not conceive but his Fits continued still as Violent as before; and that, saith he, even the last.* And *Dugdale* the Father tells you, *That he had several Fits after Mr. Jolly and the rest, had left him.* Now was it not necessary to suppress these wide-mouth'd Truths, lest the World should have seen, there was no such Feats play'd, as the



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the Ministers pretended to ! For the Devil was left in full possession of *Richard's* Body, his Fits continued as ill as ever, and the Ministers had quitted their Charge and Claim.

3. Mr. *Jolly* is not over-much Christian in pressing the Witnesses to inform further than their Knowledge allow'd them ; for tho' there be that think they did not boggle at small Matters, nor strain at a Gnat, yet had they followed his Dictates, they must have swallowed a Camel. *Whitehead* informs, That at Mr. *Jolly's* House, he endeavouring to hold the said *Dugdale* in his Fits, by the Wrist of his Arm, he could by no means do it, for his Fingers were no sooner closed, but they opened again. The Paper that Mr. *Jolly* would have had them Sworn to, hath it, They were forced open several times by an invisible Agent. *Livesay* swears, That he hath heard his Voice, as in his ordinary discourse, when he hath been above a Mile distant from him. Mr. *Jolly's* Paper hath it, At least a Mile and an half distant from him. And from the same Paper, and the Narrative, p. 46. is put into *Dugdale* the Father's Deposition, concerning the Stone laid on his Son, this Remark, That there were not any such like Stones about the House : Which is not to be found in the Information before Mr. *Bradyll*. But,

4. These are small Things, in comparison of what follows. One would wonder that one that calls himself a Minister of Christ, should dare, for the sake of a Cause, to incur the suspicion of falsifying Mens Hands, and framing their Informations ; yet this is what the pretended Demoniack charged Mr. *Jolly* with, in the Presence of several Gentleman, who have given it me, attested under their hands : The Certificate which Mr. *Jolly* makes *Dugdale*, the pretended Demoniack, to have signed before himself, and *James Gregson*, is this :

July 10th, 1695.

**I** *Richard Dugdale*, Son of *Thomas Dugdale* of *Surey*, near *Whalley*, in *Lancashire*, Gardiner ; do certifie all to whom this may come, That my former strange Fits, were not any Cheat, or Art of Man, that I do know of ; but as I do verily believe were caused by the Devil, from whom, and from my terrible Fits, my Body was cleared, through the Ministers Fasting and Prayer, at or about Lady-day, 1690. After which, I never had any more such Fits ; for the which I can never return sufficient Thanks to the Lord, or them. Witness my Hand the Day and Year abovesaid,

Richard Dugdale.

To set this in its clear Light, you must know that *Dugdale*, the pretended Demoniack, at the Entreaty of Mr. *Jolly*, had sign'd some kind of a Paper, relating to his Distemper, and the Ministers Pretences thereupon. But this, as is supposed, not being sufficient for their purpose, he is solicited to sign another Paper, or Book, which might set forth the manner of his late Sickness, which he refused, as this Certificate will inform you.

Richard.



July 20th, 1695.

**R**ichard Dugdale, Son of Thomas Dugdale of the Parish of Whalley, did declare before Sir Edmund Ashton, and Mr. White, Vicar of Whalley, That of late several Persons had solicited him to sign a Paper or Book, which might set forth the manner of his late Sicknes and Disorder; but that he had refused to sign such Paper or Book. But that heretofore, at the earnest Request, and by the Perswasion of Mr. Jolly, he had sign'd a Paper, which if it were to do again, he would not do. And being asked which way he thought his Distemper came? Answered, He thought from some Natural Cause; and that he had a Fit, as usual he had, the 24th, and took Dr. Chew's Phisick the 25th of March, 1690. And that he had found great Benefit thereby.

Signed, Henry Baily.

This Information was given before the Justices, the same Day that Mr. Jolly brought his Informants to Darwen, to give in their Testimonies, and signed by the same Justices in the same Paper, where the other Informations are; and is, as the Date tells you, Nine Days older than the Depositions, &c. at the end of the Narrative.

Afterwards Mr. Jolly meets with Dugdale, and produceth a Paper to him, in the Gallery in the Old Hall in Whalley, which he pretended Dugdale had signed, and which we suppose was the same with the Certificate here inserted, which Dugdale then, in the Presence of Mr. Baily, the Informant aforesaid, and to this Day doth absolutely disown; as several Gentlemen, who had it lately from his own Mouth, and who have attested it under their Hands, will Witness, whose Words are these. Richard Dugdale saith, That he told Mr. Jolly to his Face, that the Paper produced by the said Mr. Jolly in the Gallery, in the Old Hall in Whalley, was not the same that he had at Mr. Jolly's Importunity before signed, and that he did believe the Hand Subscribed was not his; and this he did, Mr. Baily being then with Mr. Jolly and him, who heard him then deny it to be the same. He also denyeth the Paper at the end of the Narrative, which hath his Name Subscribed, to be the same Paper that he once Subscribed, for that he doth not own these Words in it, That my former strange Fits were not any Cheat, or Art of Man that he knew of, but as he did verily believe were caused by the Devil.

All which he own'd in the Presence of us,

Roger Nowell of Read Esq;  
George Escolm, Chief Master of his  
Majesty's School at Clithero.  
Henry Baily, Gent.

There is one thing that contributes very much to confirm the Truth of what Dugdale asserted, before these Gentlemen; and it is the time



time of his pretended signing the Certificate, Printed at the end of the Narrative, which is *July* 10th, 1695. Now the Declaration he made before Sir *Edmund Ashton* and Mr. *White*, was but 10 Days after this, *viz.* *July* 20th, 1695. put it to the utmost; for that very Day we find Mr. *Bailey*, with the Justices which Mr. *Folley* had call'd to *Darwen* to take his Affidavit-Men's Depositions, giving this Information; in which he expresseth, *That of late* several Persons had solicited him to Sign a Paper, &c. which he refused. But *that heretofore*, at the earnest Request, &c. of Mr. *Folley*, he had sign'd a Paper, which if it were to do again, &c. These Words *of late*, may well respect a Matter of 10 Days Distance; whereas *heretofore*, commonly implies a larger space of Time: And *Dugdale* could not well say he had sign'd *heretofore* a Paper which was but of 10 Days standing; nor can we think several Persons should be sent to him to press him to repeat a Thing, which he had but done 10 Days before. 'Tis plain there were two Papers offered to him, the one he signed, the other he refused; and that which he refused, by what I have urged, may be concluded to be the very Paper which Mr. *Folley* Feign'd, and hath the Impudence to tack unto the Narrative.

Secondly, Let us now see if his Colleague shews more Ingenuity; and since they draw in the same Yoke, they are obliged to keep equal Paces, and I find him walking in the same steps: For he cannot acquit himself from the Crime of Insincerity; if we consider,

1. The different Account he gives of one and the same Passage. Truth is uniform, and not susceptible of Alteration; it may wear indeed a various Dress, but still the Substance is the very same. Wherever therefore we perceive a thing changed; that discovers such Artifice, as is no small Prejudice to the Truth. Now, that the Reader may know whence it came, that we are capable of laying open Mr. *Carrington's* Insincerity, by this way; I must tell him, That it was Mr. *Carrington's* Ambition to be thought the most formidable Champion in this Combat with the Devil; any one that reads but the Narrative must observe this, the rest of the Ministers being but, as he saith of his *Apollyon*, *underling Slaves*, that either durst not talk to the Devil, or too mean for the Devil to talk with. Out of this Piece of Vanity, he long since gave, in some Letters, to a Friend, an Account of this Exploit, which containing Memoirs of Moment, were transcribed, and came to our Hands; we valued them then, as a choice Piece of Fanatical Rhapsody, but little thought they would have been of so much use to us, as now they are. Because I know Mr. *Carrington* dares not deny them, I will say no more of them, but give you one of the Letters straight forward (omitting only some few Lines at the beginning, and the end, that are not Material to this Business) and parallel it with Paragraphs out of the Narrative.



Narrative, P. 40.

Mr. Carrington was desired to search a Box in Richard's Chamber; for in one of Richard's Fits, Satan cryed out, That there was a Contract made between him and Dicky, for a certain time, written in Parchment, to which Dicky Subscribed. A Jade [as Satan stiled her] taking his Hand out of Bed, and putting one or two of his Fingers to the Writing; tho' Richard, when out of his Fits confest not any Thing of such a Contract that he knew of; yet many suspected there was such a Paper or Parchment; and particularly John Hancock, a running Horse-keeper, lying in Standing-hay Stable, remote from the Surey, who once observ'd some there, loath to have a Box set before the Preaching Minister, which however they brought, after having hastily emptied it of Papers in a Corner; all which, when come home, he told to Mary Sharple; who thinking the Paper-Contract should be sought for in the Box, at the Surey, did privately desire Mr. John Grimshaw, to put Mr. Carrington upon the said Search, which the said Mr. G. did very secretly; upon which the said Minister did that very Evening search the said Box, finding in it nothing like the said Contract, but very many Papers, having very odd Shapes and Figures prickt into them, as with Pins, and drawn upon them with Pens very ill-favouredly, and uncommonly, as would have appeared by one of the Papers, which the said Minister took with him, if it had not been taken from him as is above-said. But tho' this search was undertaken by the said Families leave, yet whilst it was made, there was a strange Commotion; one boxing Richard, said, Thou Rogue wilt thou suffer this? Yonder Jade

Letter.

HAd I Leisure, I would inlarge about Dicky Posselt at Surey, however I'll add one Hint, to what I wrote last to you: Dicky was loath t'have's Box taken out o'th' Room for the Minister to Preach on; till being over-persuaded, he under pretence of fetching it, was perceiv'd by a Groom, to teem all out of it in a corner o'th' Room; the Groom was not taken notice of, as he spied Dicky emptying his Box; the Groom returning home (being four or more Miles from the Surey) told his Mistress of the Box-business; she fancied some ill thing must needs be i'th' Box, else Dickey would not have been so closely concern'd about it: So next Meeting-Thursday she came, declar'd this to a Gentleman very privately, begging, That he'd importune me to search the Box; the Gentleman privately told me all, solliciting me to the Scrutiny; I yielded, th' other Ministers being gone, tho' much People stay'd (who ever stay'drill they saw all the Ministers gone) I calling for a Candle to search the Box, Dicky's Mother cries out, yonder Bitch has told him this. So she hies to the Gentlewoman that was then mounting to go Home, crying out, both thou and the Groom shall dearly pay for this telling Mr. C. o'th' Box; I'll be revenged, &c. Whence, Note, that the said Gentlewoman had never spoke to me in all her Life; how then could Dicky's Mother thus tell o'th' Groom, &c. Hence Dicky's Mother comes furiously again, gives him a great Box o'th' ear, whispering him, (as some over-heard her) you Rogue, has not yonder Bitch told him all? Upon this Dicky cries out, Some body shall have Company with them to Night, I'll send my Sister

Ifko!



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### Narrative.

Jade has put him upon it. Upon which going out, did chide the above-said M. S. telling her, how the Knave at her House had first occasion'd this Search, sadly threatening him and her as she was going to get a Horse-back, behind her Neighbour homewards. During which Brawl, Richard, tho not in his usual Fit was pusht, or hurried on to say, it should go ill with some that Night, and he would send his Sister *Ishcol* among them; which so frightned the People then at *Surey*, that they durst not go home that Night; but the said M. S. being to go over a Field, after her quitting her said Neighbours Company, did in the same Field hear a great ratling or clashing Noise, as of armed Souldiers; then she saw great Multitudes, as of Cattel, run past her two by two, as if yoak't to each other, till she recovering her Spirit, prayed and said, *Go vanish*; upon which she heard or saw no more of them. But next Morning the said running Horse-keeper came, as in a great Fright, to her; saying, Did she meet with no Mischiefe as she came home last Night? He was sure she brought something that was naught with her from the *Surey*, as he had felt to purpose: For that soon after his coming Home, he being in Bed in the Stable, a great weight as of Lead, roll'd to and fro on him, till after much strugling he got his Arms out of Bed; after which some something else, as an heavy Man, tumbled on him, till with much ado he got his Hands towards it; upon which thinking to get out of Bed to avoid such further Trouble, he was kept from rising by something that seem'd like a Sack full of Wheat, to be poured on him out of

### Letter.

*Ishcol* after them; which words frightned some o'th' Hearers, so that they durst not go home that Night, for fear lest *Dicky* meant Them, and would send his Sister *Ishcol* after them: Having searcht the Box, I left them; the said Gentlewoman being near Home, wou'd go a Foot o're three or four Fields; as she lights, her Heart shrinks, which she endeavouring to raise; a clattering Rattle pursues her, which she looking back, saw as a Regiment of Curassiers: She fearing they'd run over her, makes homewards; they rush by her, suddainly vanish, she immediately goes to Bed. The said Groom, about spring o'th' Day, i'th' Morning, runs half undrest into his Mistress's Chamber, looking most hideously, his Hair standing on end, &c. crying, Mistress, you'll go to yonder *Surey*, till you bring the Devil home along with you. She wondering at his intruding so saucily into her Chamber, and being she had then told none of last Night's Adventure i'th' Field, she wondering how th' Groom shou'd know of it, thinking he hinted at that when he spake of the Devil; till he clears all her doubts in saying, That the last Night, he being about to sleep, something roll'd on him like a Pig of Lead; he cou'd not stir to help himself, till getting one Hand loose, slaps at it, which vanish in a cold, big blast of Wind; being affrighted, endeavours to rise, finds himself shackled still, cannot stir; till there teems on him, as if it were a Sack full of Wheat; he's afraid of being cover'd, so choakt or stifled with it, struggles to get up, 's Fetter'd still; till at last, something like a great Man tumbled down upon him, and roll'd there long; till getting his Hand out, he cou'd find



## Narrative.

of the Sack, as from the Stable-range near his Bed; till at last, getting at liberty, he cou'd see nothing at all that had been pour'd on his Bed.

On November the 7th, was a Fast-day for him at the *Surey*; he was in much better frame than formerly and carry'd it extream kindly to the said Ministers, and in his Fit, Satan said, *I think I have given all the Ministers enough, and I have quite tired them all out except Carrington, and as for him he shall torment me no more, nor shall any of you ever see him again.* And at the end of his Fit, Mr. Carrington offer'd to return home that Night as he usually did, when no Fit was foretold to be in the Night after such *Surey* Meetings; and when he return'd so, sometimes not eating at the *Surey*, he us'd to break his Fast with an Apple on the Road to his home, which was above 24 Miles from the *Surey*; and as he was getting on Horse-back homewards, Richard being out of his Fit, full of respect and kindness, said, *He knew not how to express his thankfulness answerable to the said Ministers pains for him,* desiring him however to accept as a token of his Love an Apple from him, which was about the bigness of two ordinary Fists, so that he could scarcely get it out of his Pocket. Then several earnestly intreated the said Minister not to go home that Night, because Satan had so often threatned to mischief him, and particularly in the last Fit, that they should never see him more; but he not fearing any of the Devils threatnings, was still for going home then, till being got about half a Mile from the *Surey*, he was for eating the said Apple, but he found on one side of it a hole, as if something a little thicker than a Goose-

## Letter.

find neither Wheat nor Man; till to'ards Morning he got loose froth' Fetters, gets up, and so to's Mistress.

On *Wednesday* Night next after, Dicky in's Fit cries, He had given all the Ministers enough, and tired them all but C. and he'd tire C. too at that bout, for he'd be the Death of C. and they shou'd never see C's Face again there, &c. Which when they told me on the *Thursday* morning I slighted, till at parting, Dicky gets me alone, fawningly tells me, He cou'd never requite me, &c. yet in token of good Will, I must accept a very large Apple from him; his Mother comes in fawning, that I must needs eat it, for it was a choice good one. I returning homeward, and about to eat the Apple, as I Rode, (as I oft us'd to eat an Apple or two on the Road) I spy'd a great Tush-hole on one side o'th' Apple, and another deep hole made with a Tooth on the opposite side; I mark'd where the Tooth had been, the Apple look'd all round the hole, very blewish, and yet was no more Rotten but Solid, and the freshest part o'th' Apple; besides at the bottom o'th' two holes something like foam bubbled and froath'd upwards; besides, I consider'd those holes were made for some purpose besides eating it, for that they cou'd not be the Bites or Morsels of one desiring to eat the Apple, 1. Because the two holes being exactly opposite in an Apple near as big as my two hands, no man cou'd gape wide enough to make them at one Morsel. 2. The hole being made but with one Tooth on a side, how cou'd any Man, tho' he cou'd gape so wide, keep all his other Teeth from entring, when he aim'd to bite the Apple? Upon this (remembering I'd read something in  
Corn,



*Narrative.*

Goose-quill, had been stuck near an Inch deep into it, and at the bottom of it something bubbled and flash'd upwards, and round about it was a Circle of about a Straws breadth, and brown colour, and harder to the touch of his Nail than other parts of the Apple, and on the other side of the Apple was just such another hole, all the other seeming fair and sound, excepting the said holes, which were almost opposite one to the other, and he not conceiving how or why the said holes were made, and so not knowing but the Apple might be mischievous if eaten, did neither eat it, nor throw it away, lest some other should eat it; whence not knowing but that Satan might aim at some harm to him, as before was cautioned, he staid at a Friends house that Night, and got about Ten a Clock next Morning into that part of a Common or Forest, which was within Ten Miles of his home, into which he was misdirected by an Old Woman that he met with on the Road, in which Level or Plain place, his Mare that was of high mettle and excellent for a Journey, did stop and circled about such a compass of the said place, as was about Twelve Roods long and Four broad, whence she could not be got either forwards, or backwards, or sideways, by his utmost endeavours, from the said Ten a Clock till four a Clock, when he observing Night to be near, left her, and not knowing that any House was near, resolved on the directest way homewards that he could, walking over Hills and shallow Rivers, about Six or Seven Miles before he found a House, where his coming occasion'd frequent Meetings in those parts afterwards, as they earnestly desired; but

*Letter.*

Corn. *Aprippa Trithem.* &c.) I resolv'd to keep the Apple from any ones eating it, concluding as I after found it, that it was Death to eat it; hence learning they had a design against me, according as *Dicky* had threatned on *Wednesday* Night, crying, That he'd be my Death, he'd perplex and vex me, he'd not only tire the Ministers, but make a fool of them, for that he'd forbear Possessing *Dicky* for one Quarter; and so th' Ministers wou'd think they'd dispossess him that *Thursday*; and so wou'd keep the next Meeting by way of Thanksgiving, but he'd befool them by Re-entring him at the end o'th' Quarter. I took up my Lodgings that Night at a Friends house, that so my Night-travel might not expose me to their further Machinations. But designing to be at *Lancaster* next day by Noon, or One a Clock, I set out early on *Fryday* Morning; had not gone above two Miles in a Road that I knew well, having Ridden it oft before, but an Old Woman bid me turn on my right Hand, I supposing that she had known, and directed me some nearer way, went about three Miles or more in that Forest way, till at last my very good Mare, wou'd not step one foot neither forward, nor backward, nor sideways, nor one way nor another; endeavouring to make her follow me, I broke my Bridle twice by pulling her, was then sore puzzled to catch her again, and to piece the Bridle with Belt, Garters, &c. Thus I wrestled, tugg'd with her till about Four a Clock of that short Freezing *Friday*, yet cou'd not force her by Whip and Spur, off that one spot or parcel of plain Forest ground; then Night coming.



## Narrative.

but his said violent and continued endeavours to get his Mare away, made him so sweat and weary, that he had scarce got over one River, or one Mile from her, before he lay down, when all his Limbs were so benum'd with the said Water and cold frosty Night, or some other way, that for a considerable time, he could not stir one of them, when he did not doubt in the least, but he was to die, before any could find him there; at the thought whereof, he was at first seiz'd with unutterable searchings of heart about the Eternal State, that then lay near in his full view, wide open to swallow him up in infinitely blissful or wretched agonies, till dying there did not trouble him on any account, but only thro' his fears of Religion being disparaged thereby, which fears likewise wore away, thro' his considering how easily his ador'd Sun of Righteousness could shine away any such Cloud, as that sort of death might raise; upon which all the enlargments and capacities of his mind, at the sight of his being a entering on immense Felicities, were entertain'd with such foretastes thereof, as he cannot yet hope for on a real Death-bed; yea such, as he would for ever forego all Creature delights for a repetition of them; yea for ever forego delights far vaster, even those of God's Ordinance for a continuance of them, thro' which Joys he could not forbear moving some Limbs that before he could not move; which he observing, did with ease leap up, unexpectedly walking the rest of the way without trouble or weariness, with great satisfaction, at having lookt grim Death in the face before its last arrests, with any faint glimmerings or possibilities

## Letter.

coming on, I left her, and thinking 'twas far off a House, I went back again; and knowing there were Rivers to be crost on my left Hand, and methought the old Womans right-Hand-way was certainly wrong, I resolv'd to steer by the direction 'oth' Winds streight forwards, prove the way how it would. I had not gone far, but the Ground, all among the Ling that cover'd it, was most of it Puddle-plunges, so that almost each second and third stride I was up to the mid-Leg or Knee in Mire or Water, till at last I was not able to trail one Step further; where, as I say, I really thought that there I must die, by reason of Horse-fatigues, excessive Sweat, and then Water and Cold, Night and Frost insensibly and gradually congealing and stiffing my Limbs; so most solicitously examining, revolving (as an Expectant of Death at hand) my State, Grace, Case, Evidences, Eternity, &c. I had (instead of Horrour and Despair as I expected) the most sensible satisfaction imaginable, both then and on the Road after; for 'twixt the Soul-distress and Joy, there, as I say, \* (*Isa. 40. 31.*) glenting into my Thoughts, my Life and Strength grew so on me, that I went thro' thick and thin, up Hill down Dale, through some Rivers, the Banks on either side them, being as high as some Houses, and so streight forward for 6 or 7 Miles together, as chearfully and lustily as if the Way had been good, as 'twas all bad, filthy lingy, and as if I had been fresh: Coming to a House, which if I had mist,

\* The Words are these. But they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their Strength. They shall mount up with Wings as Eagles; they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk, and not faint.



## Surey Demoniack.

15

### Narrative.

bilities of its being a welcome or a tolerable Visitant to him. From the said House, he hired some who well knew the said Heath or Forest to fetch the said Mare; they not finding her, he hired some again, who still failing, and all their way discouraged, he suppliant as *Jacob*, *Gen.* 28. 18. and 20. 21. was satisfied he should find her; and though there was no Hedge, Tree, or Way-mark thither, yet he with Company went directly to her, she then coming readily away with him, who coming home, buried the said Apple, taking a faithful Witness thereof, and afterwards left it should be rooted up, he laid a great Stone upon it.

On November the 14th, was another Fast-day for *Richard* at the *Surey*; they wondred at Mr. *Carrington's* above-said narrow escape, of what Satan had last threatned, but he much more wonder'd within himself, to find there what strange Fits had seized *Richard*, since he had last left him, such as *Richard* never had before, nor since the Apple business; for *Richard* in his Fits was extreemly hurry'd and ridden about, and chafed and besmear'd on his Head, as with the foam of an Horse hard ridden, and of a very rank smell; besides his dead Fits were very long and almost constantly continuing, and when they were intermitted, he was always so full, that he fasted and could not eat nor drink any thing for three or four Days together: Besides, in one such Fit, a great Stone of about 14 Pounds weight was laid on him so gently, as not to harm him, and yet so secretly, as that none of the Spectators did know whence, or how it came thither, which things seem'd the more considerable, for that on

### Letter.

mist, I had travell'd twelve Mile Forest-way farther e're I had found another House, on the right-Hand; where having prayed with them, made them, and afterwards some Neighbours to us so eager, that I was even forc'd to keep a Monthly Lecture there ever since, the which sought my Horse, could not find him on a double search,

till † (*Psal.* 37. 5.) being thrown into my Mind, I with one Man that had never been that way, went streight as a Line to my Horse

† The Text is thus; Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

in the Morning, after my Night-travel in a Moor, where in all that six or seven Miles-way, there was not one Wall, Hedge, Stake or Stone, for me to steer by: A Week after I came home, and remembring how near Death the Apple-business and Horse-business brought me, I (as I had read) try'd an Experiment on the Donor of the Apple, by burying it, tho' mainly to prevent its being eaten by any, and on Monday laid a great Stone on the Apple to secure it, being appointed for our Thanks-day, tho' it prov'd a Fast-day; they wondred to see me alive, contrary to *Dicky's* Words on the said Wednesday-night; and I much more wondred at what happen'd there to *Dicky*; for tho' pursuant to the said *Dicky's* Sayings, on the said Wednesday-night (how he must be well and unpossess till the Quarters end) he was accordingly well and unpossess till I buried the Apple, i. e. he was well about 9 or 10 Days, yet he fell into dead Fits, such as he never had before, his Body sometimes heavier than so much Lead, and other times lighter than so many Feathers; which as I exactly



## Narrative.

enquiry it was found, that *Richard's* said foaming, chafe, and hurry was at the very same time when the said Minister was still running after, or labouring about his Mare, and his said Fits began near the time, when the said Apple was bury'd, and the said Stone was laid on him near the time when the said Stone was laid on the said Apple about 24 Miles off *Richard*, and such Stones as that on *Richard* were not to be found or got near the *Surey*, tho' they were near the Apple; and *Richard* affirm'd, that when he received the said Apple it was perfectly sound, and he knew not how the two holes abovesaid came to be in it; And Satan said in the said Fits, that there was good news for *Dicky*, who was to have some respite from his Fits for some considerable time, and that there was bad news for himself, who was ere long to forbear his troubling of *Dicky*, which accordingly happen'd, for the said Minister not knowing whether or no the said Apple's burial had any influence on *Richard's* illness, tho' not superstitiously credulous thereof; yet leaving *Richard* in the said dead Fits as he found, he hasten'd home that Night, and took up the said Apple, and afterwards *Richard's* Fits were long suspended, and when they return'd on him, they were never again so frequent or violent as formerly, till they were removed, as is abovesaid.

## Letter.

actly enquir'd and computed, happen'd to him about that moment when I buried the Apple; and about that time when I laid the Stone on the Apple on *Monday*, was there a great Stone (much like my *Lancaster-stone*, tho' 24 Miles distant each from other) privily convey'd on *Dicky's* Belly, without the By-standers discerning how it came thither, being so weighty that had it fallen on *Dicky*, and not been laid gently on him, it would have crush'd and ground him to pieces. I seeing *Dicky* thus Dead, haste home, take the Apple out of the ground, lest, had he really died whilst the Apple was in the Ground, I might have been troubled: The Apple being out, *Dicky's* well again; till another Design against me cast him into the Fits again, since which time many memorable Matters happened, till, at last, by the Ministers permission, I threaten the Family at *Surey*, thunder against them, how I'd apply to the Magistrates to try them for Witches; and if we found any of them Witches they shou'd be hang'd, as we had Oaths or Evidences ready to prove Witch-tricks: And tho' Fast and Pray, be the Way in case of Possession, yet we read not that it ever succeeded alone without the assistance of the Magistrate in case of Witchery: Which so startled and alarm'd that Family, that I hear since, all has been pretty well there; nor have I been there since, tho' I've oft heard thence since that all is well as yet, tho' we know not what the Sequel will be, nor what a Day may bring forth. Thus I've given them one Passage, among many, that happened to me, at or from the *Surey*.

From



From this Box-businefs, as Mr. Carrington calls it, I must desire you to observe, that the Ground of the Search, as Mr. Carrington writes, was the Fancy of *Mary Sharple*, *Who fancied some ill thing must need be i'th' Box, else Dicky, &c.* This would not look great enough in the Narrative, and therefore the Devil is brought in for a share, and in *one of Richard's Fits*, *Satan is made to cry out, that there was a Contract made between him and Dicky, &c.* Now here is a gloriqus Scene, when the Devil is turn'd Informer: And thus it is, when the Narrator's Fancy flags, he hath recourse to the Devil for a little help. We had never known any thing of the Dancing Bargain, had not the Devil acquainted Mr. Carrington with it, as I before have noted: Nor had we ever heard of the Devil's Commission to possess *Richard*, had not this ratling Fool of a Devil blab'd it out to Mr. Carrington; of which anon: And this same blockish Devil here, betrays this Secret of the Contract, and sets Mr. Carrington on search for it; but it seems the Devil befool'd him, *For he can find nothing like the said Contract, but very many Papers, having very odd Shapes and Figures prick'd into them, as with Pins, and drawn upon them with Pens, very ill-favouredly and uncommonly, as would have appeared by one of the Papers, which the said Minister took with him, if it had not been taken from him as abovesaid.* Oh the hellish Witchcraft of those odd-shapen and ill-favour'd Pin prickt Papers! How came Mr. Carrington not to Harangue upon them, and the Misery of the poor Creatures that were to be tortured by them? There is a Reason for it; and since Mr. C. will not tell it, I must.

Our Demoniack *Richard*, and some other young Men, had a Mind to learn to draw Pictures: In order whereunto, they got the Prints of Dogs, Bears, Wolves, &c. in various Postures; these they prick'd out into other Papers, and followed the Lines, so prick'd, with a Pen; these *Richard* had treasured up in his Box, and there Mr. Carrington found them, and would insinuate to the World, some enormous Practices they were intended for; among the rest was a Paper, or Parchment, on which was drawn Sir *Edmund Ashton's* Coat of Arms, which the Country-people call, The Spur-Rowel, and the Bloody Hand: In Terms of Art, he beareth Argent, a Mullet pierced Sable, on a Canton, the Arms of *Ulster*, viz. Argent, a Sinister Hand couped at the Wrist, Gules.



This Mr. Carrington there found; and concluding the Mullet to be some malignant Star (which he gathered from its black Physiognomy) under whose cursed Influence *Richard* had signed the Contract; seeing also a bloody Hand, which he supposed to be the Devil's Fist, he cries out, amongst them all, Here, I have it; This is it, This is it, and claps it to his Eyes, (for he is very near-sighted;) Ay, saith he, This is it, and here is the Devil's bloody Hand to it too. And thus he triumph'd on the happy Discovery of the very original Contract, till some of the Neighbours, that knew what it was, undeceived the Gentleman, whose Wisdom it was to take it along with him, and pretend to lose it. And that you may not think I lash too far on Mr. Carrington in what I relate, the Gentlemen, whose



Names I before have given you, with many others, are Witnesses to this Relation.

I will take no notice of the many Inconsistences betwixt the Letter and Narrative, in respect of Time; for tho' *Synchronism* be altogether necessary in a true Historian, yet such small Mistakes as those are, ought to be conniv'd at in one that is fabulous: Thus, in his Letter he tells you, that it was *Wednesday*-night, next after Oct. 18. that *Dicky*, in one of his Fits, cries out, *He had given all the Ministers enough, and tired them all but Carrington, &c.* But in the Narrative he saith, *This was on Novemb. 7.* And then follows the Comical Passage of the Apple, which, like Fruit of the Forbidden Tree, Mr. Carrington prudently abstained from, for weighty Reasons expressed in the Letter; but suppressed in the Narrative for Reasons, I believe, full as weighty.

I will say nothing of his happy observation of the Tusk-holes, and the Colour about them, which from Blewish in the Letter, is turned to Brown in the Narrative; such Peccadillo's may be allowed the Narrator. But I look upon it somewhat strange, that a Minister of Christ, as Mr. Carrington would be thought to be, should from his Learning in *Corn. Agrippa*, &c. turn a Wizard; for if what he relates of burying the Apple, and the Stone laid on it, be true; he it was, if any Body, that bewitched Richard; for in his Narrative, telling us what *strange Fits* had seized Richard, *such as he never had before*, p. 46. *he being ridden about, and chafed, and besmeared on his Head, as with the Foam of an Horse hard ridden, and of a very rank Smell, &c.* He adds, *That on Enquiring it was found, that Richard's said foaming, chafe and hurry, was at the very same time when the said Minister was still running after, or labouring about his Mare; and his said Fits began near the time when the said Apple was buried; and the said Stone was laid on him, near the time when the said Stone was laid on the said Apple, about 24 Miles off Richard; and such Stones as that on Richard were not to be found or got near the Surey, tho' they were near the Apple.* Which Passages, if true, are down-right Witchcraft in Mr. Carrington; and who-ever reads our Histories, will find, and that not long since, that Men have been found Guilty, and condemned for Wizards, on less Evidence than Mr. Carrington produceth against himself. Yet the Scheme of the Narrative shewing him to be no great Conjuror, I am willing to acquit him of that Charge, since I find his Talent lieth more another way; of which the immediate succeeding Story of his very good Mare, I suppose may be an Instance.

The Letter tells you, *That his Mare would not step one Foot neither forward, nor backward, nor sideways, nor one way nor another; endeavouring saith he, to make her follow me, I broke my Bridle twice by pulling her; was then sore puzzled to catch her again, &c.* How, Mr. Carrington? Are you sore puzzled to catch your Mare, when she would not step one Foot, neither forward, nor backward, nor sideways, nor one way nor another? This is a foul Stumble of yours, whatever became of your Mare. The Corrector of your Copy, I suppose, was aware of this, and therefore allows her *Twelve Roods in length, and four in breadth*, to take Air in; but little did he know that we had a Letter of yours, that affirms, *She would not stir one Foot, nei-*  
ther



ther forward, &c. But we will give him, as well as you, Grains of Allowance ; tho' I might well inquire how, in an Oblong Square (*for such is Twelve Roods in length, and Four in breadth*) your Mare (as he hath amended it) could Circle about such a compass of the Place ? He had much better have cast into a Circumference ; for then it would have lookt more like a piece of Witch-craft, which you labour to make the World believe, was in it ; and I have already acquitted you from that Guilt ; tho', when I find you, *going thro' thick and thin, up Hill, down Dale, thro' some Rivers the Banks on either side them being as high as some Houses*, and all this by Virtue of a Text of Scripture, as you would insinuate, I am almost ready to retract what I granted, for I find, you use that Holy Book, as Wizards do ; they, by way of Charm, use a Text or two to cure Agues, Tooth-ach, &c. And you abuse one, to fly, *as on Eagles Wings, over Rivers, the Banks on either side of them being as high as some Houses*.

Mr. Carrington, doth this become the Function you lay Claim to ? Do you pretend to be a Minister of Gods Word, and dare thus to Prophanate it ? Nay, repeat the Prophanation within a few Lines, and Glory in it too, as if by some Inspiration, you with one Man, that had never been that way, and the Assistance of a Text of Scripture, *went as streight as a Line, for 6 or 7 Miles, where there was neither Wall, Hedge, Stake or Stone for you to Steer by, and find what, on a double Search, others had mist ?* You have shewed us what you are ; and how ought we to pity those poor Souls that are deluded into a good Opinion of such Enthusiastical Fanaticks. But Mr. Carrington, did you travel 6 or 7 Miles before you met with an House ? I never indeed rid that way, but the most knowing People thereabouts assure me, that go which way you please to contrive it, you cannot ride above Three, or at the most, Four Miles, but you must come to an House or Village, if you will not do as your Mare did, *i. e.* travers over the same spot of Ground. There are other Things the Reader may observe, but I omit them, lest I should be tedious.

Secondly, The Narrator's Insincerity next appears in his colluding Suggestions, whereby he would insinuate to the Reader the surmizes of Things, that he dare not openly avouch. Thus p. 2. he tells, *That Richard desired, that they would set apart a day of Fasting as the only means from which he could expect Help, being he had in vain tried other means both Lawful and Unlawful, which he further explains, p. 3. Then (saith he) they sought unto a reputed Wiseman for Help, viz. Dr. Crabtree, who said, he was amazed at several Things which befel him, whilst under his Charge, as particularly, at his precise foretelling various sorts of Weather, he at last confessing (as some told us) that there was no Help for him, except from the Ministers.* Now this is a Devilish insinuation of some Bodies, to abuse a Minister of the Church of England, for such this Dr. Crabtree (as he calls him) was. He was (as far as I can learn) no great Scholar, a blunt, but an honest Man ; and served at a poor Place for about Twelve pounds a year, which he augmented by venturing to give Physick to the Country-People. But this would not do Mr. Carrington's turn, you must be made to believe that he was a Conjuror, (and Mr. Carrington in one of his Letters expressly calls him so, tho' his Corrector in the Narrative mollifies



it, into a reputed Wiseman) and made use of unlawful Means. Poor *Crabtree's* dead, and dead Men cannot Bite, nor Box neither; else Mr. *Carrington* perhaps might have heard of it on both sides his Ears. But what were these unlawful Means poor *Crabtree* used? Nothing in the World, saith *Richard* his Patient, but *Physicking and Blooding*; I give it you in the Mans own Words: And did any one tell you Mr. *Carrington*, that he should say *there was no Help for him except from the Ministers*? I suppose by the Ministers you mean *your self, and your Dissenting Brethren*. And I dare engage there is no one that reads your Narrative, that can ever believe what you here affirm, That a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, be he as mean as poor *Crabtree* was, would ever send a poor afflicted Person to enjoy the Benefit of the Prayers of a Schismatical Conventicle, confessing those of his own Church to be ineffectual. But who told you this Mr. *Carrington*? Whoever he was, he told you a Lye; and you might have known it too, had you not been among the number of those whom God seems, for Reasons well known, to *have given up to believe a Lye*. For *Dugdale*, the Father, deposeth, that he had this Answer from *Crabtree*, That if there was Mony enough he could effect the Cure, p. 51. And he, with his Wife and Daughters, in their joynt Information, plainly intimate, *That his Fits did abate whilst he was with Dr. Crabtree*, p. 62. And you that were to frame the Narrative out of these Materials, cannot well be supposed to be ignorant of this. But I imagine you write Narratives, as you pretend to preach, by an Odd kind of Spirit you have, that loves nothing that is brought into a Form, tho' it be one of your own Deponents Oaths.

Thirdly, For fear our Dissenter's Narrative should in any thing fall short of a Popish Legend, you will find it well fraught with Romantick Fancies. Wherever he hath occasion of improving any thing by a Flight of Fancy, he is loth to neglect. *Richard*, when his Fit was coming upon him, was taken generally with a Swimming in his Head, which affected both his Eyes and Ears, as is usual in such cases, and represented odd Phantasms to the one, and made an humming Noisiness in the other: This the Narrator, out of his religious Spirit, hath fram'd, according to the model of the Vision that was shewn *St. Peter*, *Act. 10. 11, &c.* and the Voice that there spake to him: For saith he, *several Apparitions presented themselves, and after vanished before him; for he saw the Table spread over with Dainties or Delicate Fare; and heard a Voice, as from under the Table, saying Eat, and take thy fill of Pleasures: Then he saw the Table covered with Ribbons and fine Ornaments, and heard a Voice, saying, Take, and enjoy what Honours thou desirest: Then he saw Gold and precious Things lying on the Table, and heard a Voice, saying, Take, and thou shalt have all the Riches thou wilt: But he said, he took none of the said Offers*, p. 2. No I warrant him! For there was none to be taken: And the Voice, here mentioned, is only Mr. *Carrington's*; the Man heard not one distinct Word pronounced, but only a Noise, as out of an hollow Vessel, saith he, which I before have said (if it was not knavish) was symptomatical.

But that is an excellent stroke with which he concludes his Narrative: *Mr. Carrington about half a Year after (the Farce was over) riding on the Road,*



Road, had his Leg suddenly laid hold on by one leaping over a Thorn-hedge, whom he found to be Richard over-joyd, and as surprized with an unspeakable, Gladness at the sight of him, who hereupon could not forbear crying out;

To'th' Son we'll give, Praise whilst we live ;

To'th' Spirit, when we dye ;

To'th' Father when, we rise again,

To God, Eternally.

P. 51.

And is not this a goodly Scene, to have a Man unexpectedly come bounding over a Thorn-hedge, clap hold of your Stirrup, and in a Rapture of Joy, and Inspiration, break forth ; or else so affect you by a sympathetic Spirit, (for the Words are not so clear, as distinctly to express whether of them it was) that you break forth, into that noble Hymn, *To'th' Son, &c.* A Goodly Scene indeed ! But it is all Romance: For Richard never saw Mr. Carrington since he was cured, but only once, and that was, as he was mowing the Bowling-green at Whalley, where Mr. Carrington came to him, and asked him, How he did, &c. But Mr. Carrington had a Mind to give us a Taste of his Poetry, and let us see how natural it is for Dissenters to abuse sacred Forms of Worship, if they chance but to touch them ; for if I mistake not, his Design seems to be, to turn into Meeter that Antient Doxology, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, &c.* And how awkwardly he hath done it, let the Reader judge.

Fourthly, To invalidate the whole Narrative, there needs but one thing more ; and that is, to prove him guilty of notorious Untruths: And at present one Instance may suffice, because it is a very Unchristian one ; the rest you will meet with in the Body of the Narrative. Mr. Carrington tells you, p. 49. *That at last the Ministers agreed (for Reasons there mentioned) to put them (i. e. Richard, and them where he lived) upon some Duties, and particularly upon Prayer ; and one of them attempting several times, to say over the Lords Prayer, still mist all the last Petition, excepting and from Evil ; the Excuse for which omission still was, that the Bible out of which the said Petition was learnt, being of Queen Elizabeth's Edition, had not the said Petition in it worded, as it is in other Bibles.* This Richard absolutely denies ; and affirms that they did say the Lords Prayer aright ; and appeals to some Persons who were present at this Tryal, for the Truth of what he asserts.

But there is no satisfaction like that which is Personal ; I therefore went my self to the Old Woman (whom they would have the World to think a Witch) and desired her to repeat, if she could, the Lords Prayer. *I thank God (saith she) I can say it; and do say it perhaps as often as those do that accuse me that I cannot ;* which I believe may be true enough, for upon this she kneel'd decently down, and repeated the Lords Prayer, and was as perfect in the last Petition, as any one of the rest. I then thought it necessary to examine into the Truth of the Excuse, that Mr. Carrington pretends was made for their not saying aright the last Petition, which he saith is, p. 49. *That the Bible out of which the said Petition was learn'd, being of Queen Elizabeth's Edition, had not the said Petition in it worded, as it is in other Bibles.* I scarce thought this could come from the Mouths

of



of such mean People, as I saw they were. I therefore enquired if they knew what an Edition of the Bible was? They said, No, they did not. I then ask'd if they had any Bible in the House, that I might have examined what Edition it was? They still continued in the Negative; No, they had not. I enquired the Reason of it? Could they not Read? No, they could not. By this you may see what Truth we may expect from our Narrator. There is one thing yet worse; and that is, That the Excuse that he hath coined for them is a notorious Untruth; for this last Petition in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's Edition, are Word for Word the very same in both. The Words of the antecedent Petition, are indeed different, but that would not do Mr. Carrington's Business; for by her inability to repeat this Petition, the World is to be bore in Hand that she was a Witch. For not only the common People take this for a full conviction of a Witch, but they who have no great Opinion of the Lords Prayer, yet have thought it sufficient to try a Witch by. Thus Darrel in his History of Somers, p. 16. tells, *That being moved to say the Lord's Prayer, when he came to these Words, Lead us not into Temptation, he would say, Lead us into Temptation.* Mr. Carrington therefore speaks conformable to the Design he aim'd at; but so notoriously False is the Relation it self; such an impudent Untruth is the Excuse he frames for it, that a Man may justly doubt whether Mr. Carrington himself can say the Lord's Prayer or no.

But suppose the old Woman could not have said the Lord's Prayer, must she needs be a Witch? I will tell Mr. C. a Story, which is commonly and credibly related here among us. In the late Times of Rebellion, there was a poor Woman in a neighbouring Parish that was accused for a Witch, and brought before the Justices: They thinking that the Minister was as fit to examine into that Affair as themselves, refer her to the then Incumbent Mr. G. And he, after some Questions moved to her, put the Issue of her Tryal upon her saying the Lord's Prayer. The Woman begins, but could not go through with it; attempts it again, but cannot say it, &c. Whereupon the Minister declares to her, that he must deliver in his Opinion, that she was a Witch. *Say you so, saith she? If this be your Reason for it, it is you and none else, that hath made me a Witch.* He inquired, How that could be? She replied, *I must thank God, my Parents (tho' Poor) taught me to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments; and in former times, as oft as I came to Church I heard them repeated to me, and that kept them in my Memory; but since Times turned, I never heard you say the Lords Prayer, and no wonder saith she, if I have forgot it.* Upon which he bid her go Home, and he would satisfy the Justices about her; and ever after this, he closed his own with the Lord's Prayer.

Inquiring after the Truth of this, I find a time when he did not use the Lord's Prayer; and afterwards a time when he did use the Lord's Prayer, which makes it probable, that the Story is True, and that this was the Reason of his constant usage of it afterwards.

I now come to the Body of the Narrative; and in order to give an Answer to it, I must premise three Things:

First,



## Surey Demoniack.

23

First, That there is a Combination confess'd ; *Walmsley* swears to *Dugdale's* acknowledgement of it, as you find in his Deposition, it is own'd more than once in the very Narrative, p. 22. and 50. and no less than twenty Persons Subscribe a Testimonial to the Belief of it, p. 64. Now

Secondly, I shall shew *Dugdale*, the pretended Demoniack, to be a Person fully qualified to carry on by Design such a Combination ; Which

Thirdly, Was much advantaged by that Natural Distemper, which had seiz'd him, the which on course improv'd all those Vaultings, Gesticulations, &c. which induced the Dissenting Ministers to believe that he was possessed.

First, Here is a Combination confess'd ; and that is enough for my purpose, especially since it is so Secret, that the Agents in it concluded it indiscoverable ; for in such a case, Confession is ample Evidence. I know the Authors of it labour to Confound the Understanding of it by the cramp Word that is joyned to it, viz. Obsession : But so far is that from obscuring the Thing, that it will very much help us to discover its Authors. All that can be pretended is *Richard's* Ignorance of what he either said, or did in his Fits ; but so far is this from being true, that I shall use it for an Argument to prove, that there was such a Combination as is here confessed : For tho' in such a Secret as this is, none can expect other Evidence than Confession, which unawares falls from a Man, yet I will proceed to prove it. And my first Argument is taken,

First, From *Richard's* pretence of Ignorance, as to what he said, or did in any of his Fits ; for if I can prove the contrary, I prove a Combination : Since this pretence must be upon Design ; and every one may easily discern the use he would make of it. Supposing him to be Ignorant of what is said or done, when really he is not so ; all the apt Replies to what he hears, must be concluded to come from the Devil ; the Discovery, that his own Eyes make, must be from the Devil ; and whatever he studiously doth, must come from the Devil : Nay, whatever confederated Signs are made to him, to give notice of Things that he is to declare ; or Words purposely let fall, to signifie to him what People have done, may all be communicated to him, without the least suspicion of Intrigue ; since he, poor Creature, is all this while supposed to be senseless and ignorant. This being allowed, the Declaration of things that he seeth or heareth, are all taken to be propheticall and supernatural. I will therefore discover his Knavery herein, and that will argue a Combination. And,

First, That *Richard* was sensible in his Fits, we may gather from *Waddington's* Information to Mr. *Folly*, p. 63. where it is said, That he asked *Rich. D.* when he came out of his Fits, whether he could give account of any Thing that past in the Fit ? This *R. D.* denied. Only once related a strange Passage, that in his Fit he thought he had distinct sight of a Person, and told the posture he thought he saw him in, and the place where, many Miles from the place where *R. D.* had his Fit, which things concerning that Person were found true upon Enquiry. This one Passage proves two Things : First, That *Rich.* was sensible in his Fits, for he relates what he sees ; and tho' *Waddington* pretends it was only once, he that confesseth to once, may



may certainly be sensible. Secondly, A Combination; for whoever the Person was, let *Dugdale* have said of him what he would, I dare engage he would have own'd it; for at other times, you shall quickly hear how his Prophetick Talent fail'd him. And that he knew what he did in his Fits, this Passage will clear it; one *R. C.* an Infidel of *Mr. C.*'s being with *Richard* when he was in one of his Fits, busie shuffling the Cards, flinging the Dice, &c. and having declared, that he lookt upon it all to be a Cheat, for he knew some could play such Tricks far better than *R.* did; our Demoniack gets near him, and pretending, I suppose, to fling a Bowl at his Head (as *Walmsley* tells us he sometimes threatned) he gives my Neighbour *A.* a great Box on the Ear. Pray tell me now whether you think *Richard* was sensible in his Fits, or no?

Take another Instance sent me under the Gentleman's own hand.

Being told, That *R. D.* in one of his Fits, said, That such a Gentlewoman and I, were such a time at a Gate, which he nam'd, eating Apples, &c. which was altogether false; and it being his Custom to tell such petty Stories of People, I was not willing it should pass, did very roundly tell him of it, as also what my Opinion was of him. After which time, he never did say any thing more of me, or in any of his Fits did offer any Abuses to me, tho' he did to others standing by me. I also observed he made distinctions of People; some he would very rudely have Ruffled, and others he did always forbear, according to his Fears or Favours.

*Tho. Cowell.*

Now can a Man that is senseless, and knoweth not what he doth, make Distinctions betwixt People, according to his Fears of them, or Favours to them? Can he forbear abusing them, any more than other By-standers, when they are in a mixed Crowd? This shews that he pretended only to be ignorant, that he might make that advantage of it, that I before have intimated. Here too you have a Taste of his insight into Secrets, which comes to nothing; he pretends to tell where, and with whom *Mr. Cowell* was; but you find it is notoriously false; but This here by the By. His Ignorance of what he saith or did in his Fits, you see is only pretended, and that to carry on a Combination: For when shuffling his Rushes like Cards, as in *Walmsley's* Deposition, he pretends to chide about the Casts, and Swears in his Play. Doth it not all over look like Knavery? But when he asks, *Do not Gamesters do thus?* The Secret is out, for the Devil knows it too well to ask such an impertinent Question; so that *Richard* spoke this wittingly, the more to impose on the credulous Hearers. And when he comes to play at Dice he fairly shews himself, for, using exactly several Expressions belonging to that Play, (he said) *People think this is laid on me for my Sins, but I never was a Gamester in my life, neither know I how to play at such Games when out of my Fits.* Friend *W.* do you understand Dice so well that you can Swear, as you do, to this, using exactly several Expressions belonging to that Play? Gamesters are Men of no great Credit, even when they Swear; and if such you be, and you endeavour to make your Self appear such, *Mr. Jolly* hath pickt up a sweet parcel of Evidences. But I beseech you, these Words, *People think this is laid upon me for my Sins*, must they belong to *R.* or the Devil?

To



To the Devil they cannot, for he is not the Patient. If to R. he must understand what he saith; and who doth not see that he is plainly fencing against a Scandal, most justly chargeable on him? But he adds, *That out of his Fits, he knew not how to play at such Games.* What Games were they Neighbour W. that he play'd at? For since you name not any, we must conclude that all the Games he play'd at, were that of the Knave. And

The following Instance, I think will prove it; where acting the Bowler, you make him to say, *I never was a Bowler; but don't Gentlemen do thus?* This is a base Reflection that some body designedly, intended against the Gentry; it is not in Mr. Bradyl's Informations, but I find it is in Mr. Folly's Paper; and 'tis Ushered in with a *Sirrah, stand out of the way, or I'll knock out your Brains; adding* (saith the Deponent) *I never was a Bowler; but don't Gentlemen do thus?* If our Gentry be so faulty as here we have them scandalously represented, all that I have now to do with them, is to remind them of the Good old Saying, *An Honest Man, and a good Bowler.* But was R. never a Bowler? Who can believe that a young Man, that is a Gentleman's Gardiner, and moweth Greens, (for such was R.) should not know how to play at Bowls? This Untruth uttered by him discovers a great Truth, That he knew in his Fits both what he said, and did; and that all tended to carry on the Combination. Which

Secondly, His shortning his Fits, according to his own pleasure, will further Evidence; for this is such an undeniable instance of his Knavery, as Mr. C. though he be near sighted, could not (had he not wilfully blinded his weak Opticks) but have discerned. The passage occurs, p. 20. Where the Devil having threatned, that the Demoniack's raging Fit should continue three Hours, yet the Demoniack comes out within an Hour; the Words are these. *As the Minister was going on* (viz. Haranguing to the Devil, for such then was his Employment) *the Demoniack cried out, At ten a Clock my next Fit returns; and so unexpectedly came out of his Fit, about eight of the Clock, or about an Hour after his threatning, that his raging Fit should continue three Hours longer.* Can fuller Evidence of Rich. ordering himself in his Fit, according to his own conveniency, be expected, than here is offered? for certain private Reasons of his own, he shortens his Fit at pleasure; and therefore pretend he what he will, he manifestly discovers that he not only knew what he did (for he comes out of his Fit when he will) but could make the Ministers believe whatever he pleased; for he crys out, *My next Fit returns at ten a Clock;* which was within the space of two Hours, he coming out at eight in the Evening; but he interprets it to be *Ten the next Morning*, ib. p. 20. And the credulous Ministers tamely (but inconsistently) admit it.

Thirdly, Another Argument that R. was sometimes sensible in his pretended Fits, and on'y play'd the Knave, is the odd Dresses that he affected to habit himself in: I will give you an account of one, which is thus. R. takes a large course Blanket, and Mantles himself in it; one of the Corners he so orders, that as occasion is, with a nod he may drop it over his Face, or with a toss back fling it like a Monks Cowl upon his Shoulders; the opposite Corner he reserves for a long Train to trail after him,

You have another such Instance afterwards.



as he frisk'd it about. In this fantastick Garb, he traverseth the Barn, and comes pretty close up to whom he thought it would more powerfully affect, and gives a nod with his Head, and slap goes a Corner of the Blanket on his Face; then he gives another toss of it back again, stands upon his Tip toes, and stares and heaves, as if he would fly away. Whisk about then he turns to another, so to a third, &c. Thus he keeps the People in Fears, and expectation of what's to be done; and has thereby liberty to play his Game and impose upon them whatever he pleaseth.

Secondly, The next Argument that discovers a Combination is, that he hath secret, or hiding places in the Barn, wherein he or some one for him, did lay Stones, &c. That as he was Galloping about the Barn, and playing his Antick Tricks, he might here catch up a Stone, there a piece of Paper, or whatever was laid there, and afterwards pretend to Vomit them up at his own Leisure. *Fletcher*, a Keeper of him, in his Information, p. 58. acquaints us, *That he found in the Barn, where Dugdale lay, a round hole in the Hay, like an Hens-Nest, wherein were seven Stones laid together, &c.* The same Informant told an Ingenious Person Dr. B. That in another place of the Barn, there were Papers laid for him to take, as he was Frisking it about on all four, Mr. C's religious Posture, which is all over Combination: For we meet with the Demoniack foretelling, That he must Vomit either Gold, Silver, or Brass-rings, and an Hair-Button. *Dugdale* the Fathers Deposition; *Fletcher* and *Hindley's* Information; and accordingly he did so. Upon this, let me ask one Question, viz. Whether this his foretelling what he was to do, doth not plainly inform us, that he knew what he could do? As my Neighbour R. C. that received the Box on the Ear argued upon the Point. Why did he not Vomit precious Stones, Gold-rings, or choice Jewels, that could not have been had in the Neighbourhood; this would have made us believe that something Extraordinary had been in him, or with him; but to Vomit a Curtain-ring, and a Button, I could have put them into my Mouth, saith he, and done the same. These hiding places for his Stones, Papers, &c. discover Roguery, and that sufficiently argues a Combination.

Thirdly, Which *Rich.* (tho' perhaps he was not aware of it) hath plainly confessed; for you before have heard, that he utterly denyeth those Words in the Testimonial pretended by Mr. *Folly* to be sign'd by him, *That his former strange Fits were not any Cheat, or Art of Man.* This is a plain Acknowledgment, that there was Leger Demain and Combination in them; for it must argue them to be a Cheat, and done by Art of Man; and you will have little reason to doubt of it, when you have perused the next Head; which is,

Secondly, That the pretended Demoniack R. D. was a Person every way qualified to carry on the Combination that is here confessed; you shall find, that he had not only Activity enough to perform all the Gesticulations and Mountebank Tricks that were acted in his Fits, but that from his Childhood he had a Genius leading to impose on credulous and easie People. Take the following Accounts, as they came to my Hand. To the first I affix not the Gentleman's Name, because I cannot say, that he hath allowed me to do it, and I would not be Guilty (as our Narrators are) of using Peoples



Peoples Names without their Licence: But if any thing in it be denied, I will stand engaged for his appearing publicly to vindicate, and attest it; and yet this aversion of his (if such it be, for I can say little of it, because I never exchanged Word with him about it) is abundantly supplied by the accession of another Testimony to confirm it. He writes thus:

That when R. D. and he, were Scholars together at *Whalley School*, he hath very often seen him play many Antick Tricks, as running upon his Hands and Feet very \* fast like a Dog, and going on his Hands with his Heels upwards; he would have Trotted and Gallop'd on his Hands and Feet like a Horse, as fast as some Boys could have run; he would have Barked like a great Mastiff Dog, † and have made a strange unusual Noise in his Throat, or seeming rather as if the Noise came from below his \* Throat; † he would have turned in the Sight of his Eyes, and nothing but the Whites appear'd; he would have stirred the Skin upon his Skull to and fro, without any motion of the Head; the Hair upon his Head seeming thereby to stand on an end: By the management of his Tongue, he would have made many and several kinds of hideous and unusual Noises, like Dogs, Cats, &c. to me often seeming as if it were quite below the Throat. *I have seen him in several of his Fits, but then saw \* nothing done by him, but what he much exceeded when a School-Boy.* He could have made a particular † Noise by the management of his Tongue, that in a Wood sounded exceeding loud; he would have drawn his Face into many ugly ill-favoured Shapes and Figures; he often said, he met an old Witch in his coming and going betwixt his Fathers House and the School, which he called *Sadler's Wife*; and that she had Tew'd him (as he calls it) in his coming or going, as made him sweat extremely; besides many unusual \* Vaultings and Leapings which is rarely seen in any. And this I have seconded by what follows:

These are to Certifie all whom it may concern, That I *Edward Slaytor* of *Billington* in the County of *Lancaster*, Yeoman, having been School-fellow with *Richard Dugdale*, late of *Surey*, have seen him (at that time) perform these following Feats, viz.

When the Master was out of the School, that we had the freedom to play, I have seen him go up and down the School upon his Hands and Feet, leaping to and fro like a Dog; and when the Master had been present in the School, he would have come running in, gazing up and down, as if he had been frightened; and telling the Master, his Pockets were full of Mony, bidding him feel, if what he said was not true; but the Master asked him, how he came by that Mony, which he pretended he had; and he told him, his Mother gave it him; but no Mony there was.

Many a time I have seen him come into the School gazing as before, and pretended that he had seen a Woman, which he called by the Name of *Sadler's Wife*, who had grievously frightened him.

Many other Tricks I have seen him play at the School, which were very like those he acted in the time of his pretended Possession: And having known him ever since he was a School-Boy, and seen many of the Tricks he then played, I am fully persuaded that what was said to be a Possession, was nothing else but a Cheat.

\* R. D. Gallop'd on his Hands at the Barn.

† Various Noises.

\* voice out of the Lump of his Belly. † These were shewed in his Fits.

\* Observe this. † voice heard a Mile.

\* His high Leaps in Dancing.

R. standing on his head. R. delights in imposing on Peoples Credulity.



*Cheat.* In Witness whereof as a Christian, and one that desires that the Truth may be made known to the World, I here Subscribe my Name,

Edward Slaytor.

These two Letters I read at *Clithero*, in the presence of Mr. *Escolm*, to Mr. *Rich. Crumbeck*, who was also a School-fellow with *R. D.* and he not only acknowledged the Truth of what is here related of *D.* whilst he was at School, but gave me also liberty to make use of his Name, as Attesting the Truth of it.

*R.* shortens his Fit, when the Fancy will not take.

By these two Letters you see how well qualified *R.* was to dissemble the Tricks, that he acted in his Possession; both these School-fellows had seen him in his Fits, and one tells you, *That he saw nothing done by him, but what he much exceeded when a School-Boy.* The other saith, *Many Tricks have I seen him play at the School, which were very like those he acted in his pretended Possession, insomuch, that he was fully persuaded, that what was said to be a Possession, was nothing else but a Cheat.* And Mr. *Crumbeck* being one day Fishing near the *Surey*, and invited by *R.*'s Mother to see him in a Fit, which he was then in, knew him so well that he refused to go: And he was in the right of it; for before he got down to the *Surey*, the Fit was over, and *R.* was Fishing as well as he. This makes me almost suspect whether he had any Natural Disease, or rather the whole was not a Counterfeit; yet since he seem'd to be afflicted with an Epilepsie, join'd with Convulsive Motions; I will

Thirdly, Give you an Account of the Symptoms that attend that Disease, that you may yet further see that there was nothing in *Dugdale's* Feats, but what was Natural. And

*R.*'s Swelling or Mole.

*Dr. Willis* in his Book of the Pathology of the Brain, p. 33, 34. tells of one, who two or three Days beforehand, was wont to feel the coming of the Disease; the Fit coming on him, at first his Eyes were variously roll'd about, and inverted; then a certain Bulk, like a living Animal, was seen to creep from the bottom of his Belly upward, toward his Heart and Ereast, and from thence to his Head. I my self (says he) pressing his Belly with my Hand, felt very plainly this kind of Motion; and as long as I hindred this round thing from rising with both my Hands, and all my Strength, he found himself indifferently well; but as soon as this Swelling, creeping upwards by degrees, had reached the Head, presently the Members of the whole Body were cruelly pull'd together, that he would dash himself against the \* Walls and Posts, as if possesst by an Evil Spirit; he could hardly be held by four strong Men, with all their force but he would leap from them, and fling out his Arms and Feet and Head; here and there, with divers manner of Motions. † When he ceases from leaping forth or struggling, his Members would be strongly extended, as if troubled with the Cramp or stiff Extensions.

\* *R.* running his Head against the Wall.

† The same in *Ri hard.*

\* *R.*'s dancing. † *R.* his stretching out his Neck to a prodigious length, p. 4.

P. 64. He tells of another, who sitting nigh her Sister in a Chair, suddainly Leaping out, fetch'd one or two Jumps, and many others successively with wonderful Agility, at the distance of many Feet; then when she came to the farther part of the Chamber, she continued a great while \* Leaping upon the Place, and every time a great height. When her Legs were quite tired with Leaping, she fell on the Floor, and would † fling her



her Head here and there, with wonderful violence, as if she would shake it from her Neck.

P. 60. He tells of one, whose Tendons of the hinder part of the Neck were pulled together, that her Head was bended † now forward, now backward, now on one side, and sometimes it continued stiff and immovable: A little after this the same kind of Convulsive Distemper invaded the outward Members and Limbs of the whole Body; her Arms and Hands were wonderfully turn'd about, that no \* Jugler or Tumbler could imitate their Bendings and Rollings about.

† R. seeming to be tied as by Neck and Heels.  
Information before Mr. Bradyl.

P. 66. He tells of one troubled with Convulsions, when they ceased, the force of the Disease changes into Talking and Singing; both which she performed most Pleasantly and Elegantly, beyond her proper † Capacity; with these kind of Speeches and pleasant Jest, she fell upon the standers by, that nothing in a Comedy could be more pleasant: Then she uttered most sweet Tunes in Musick, and more pleasant than any other could do, or her self at any other time; as often as any by-standers replied bitterly, or reproachfully, she fell into most grievous, and long continuing Convulsions of the *Viscera*.

\* This out-does Rich.  
† This out-does Rich.

I will add to these a further Account of such like Symptoms given me by the Ingenious Dr. Radcliff, not much Inferiour to the great Man of that Name.

SIR,

I was very glad to hear that you will take up the Cudgels, and do so good a Work, as to Answer that impertinent, nay, false Account lately Publish'd by Mr. C. concerning the Dispossession at *Surey*: It may be a means to convince some People of the World, that there is something of an Alliance betwixt the Two P.s, and that there is not that vast Disproportion or Disagreement betwixt them, as is pretended; for as to this Mystery or Craft (call it what you will) they go Hand in Hand, and have engroft it wholly to themselves, excluding all others whatsoever. And in this one Point, I'm sure they absolutely concur, That the Devil is not that Notorious Villain that the World would make him to be, or Scripture declares of him, viz. a Lyar from the beginning; for if you have Faith to believe either Party, in the Conferences that they have had lately with him (and they seem pretty familiar ones) they do assure you, and averr it, that he tells them the Truth. In compliance to your Request, that I would turn over some Authors, and endeavour to find out, if I could, what *Dicky's* Distemper might be; or whether there be any Disease incident to Mankind, that is at any time accompanied with such like Symptoms, as is related in the aforesaid Book; I assure you, I have done my part (according to my mean Capacity) and have made it my Business to consult the best Books I have, and cannot find any Distemper so agreeable to the *Surey-Lad's* Case, as an Epilepsie joyn'd with Convulsive Motions: And that his Fits were nothing but such, I doubt not but to prove to your full satisfaction, by Instances out of the most approved Authors we have.

I. To



1. To prove, That those various and strange Gestures and Actions performed by the Lad, during his Fit (and looked upon by the Beholders to be done by the Devil) were not Diabolical, but Preternatural.

Rich. tied  
as by Neck  
and Heels.

R.'s various  
Gesticulations.

I shall bring upon the Stage that learned and eminent Physician *Riverius*, who, in his first Book of *Praxis*, Cap. 7. gives us an Account of one that belong'd to a Monastery, that in his Epileptick Fit was strangely afflicted with different convulsive Spasms and various Contortions, one while of his Arms, another while of his Legs; sometimes his Head, as it were, turn'd backwards; at another time the whole Trunk of his Body strangely contorted and writhen: When his Fits were not so violent, but more easy, he would sometimes stand, then walk up and down the Room, with all the Fantastick Motions whatever, Leaping, Dancing and Skipping about, playing antick Tricks, like any Tumbler or *Merry Andrew*.

R. supposed  
to be poss-  
essed or  
bewicht.

To second this, in comes the profound *Willis*, who in his Tract of Convulsive Motions, declares, That he knew some, all whose Muscles and Tendons in the whole Body, were affected with Contractions and convulsive Twitchings, without Intermission; others, whose Arms and Legs, and other Joints, were perpetually hurried into various Flexions and Distortions; and moreover, that he saw others who were necessitated to Dance and to run to and fro, and beat the Ground, sometimes with their Hands, then with their Feet; which had they not done, they would have fallen into most cruel Convulsions, both of the Bowels, and the Parts about the Heart, and to perform other stupendious Gesticulations; which gave occasion to some that were by, to think that they were either possessed or bewicht. Whereas the chief and genuine Reason of these Passions seems rather to consist in this, That the Juice which irrigates and waters the nervous Genus, being as sharp and acrid as *Aq. Fort.* and altogether from its usual Crasis and Constitution degenerated, did continually, and without intermission, provoke and irritate both the innate and influent Spirits; and, as it were, threw them into a Fury: Of the like Nature is the *Saltus* or *Chorea S. Viti*.

R. tells when  
his Fit is to  
come.

R.'s swelling  
usual in such  
cases.

As to the fore-knowledge of his Fit, which they will needs have done by the Devil, 'tis nothing but usual, of which *Gallen*, in his Book of different Symptoms, Cap. 3d. gives us two Instances; but I shall only make mention of one, it being most material and to purpose; and it is thus: A Boy 13 Years old, or thereabouts, could always foretel when his Fit would come upon by him, by a Pain or little Tumor beginning behind his Leg; and thence, soon after, ascending up along the Thigh, his Side, Shoulder and Neck, till at last it came to the Head; which Part, as soon as affected, he immediately fell down into one of his Fits. *Platerus Felix* in his *Mantissa*, Obj. 2. tells us of one that always perceived it to begin in his right Foot. *Forestus*, in his 10th Lib. of Diseases of the Brain, Obj. 68. gives us an Account of another that always had Warning in his left Foot, of the approaching Fit.

These I think sufficient, or I could mention several others. As to the Howling and Barking like a Dog, *Salomon Leiseli*, Obj. 5. gives us this Account of a young Gentlewoman, that she was very much, and very often afflicted with convulsive Motions of her Arms, accompanied for the most



most part, or very often, with the Yelping or Barking of a Dog, or such like strange Noise. The Reason (if any) that can be given for it, is this; R. making odd various Noises. That the malignant or peccant Matter being transmitted, or translated to the vocal Nerves, there must needs (by the irritation of the Animal Spirits) be produced a very irregular Motion, and consequently thence proceed a strange and uncouth Sound (or Voice) far differing from the natural and distinct Voice of the Person, and may be taken differently, according to the prepossest Fancy of the By-standers.

I might here give you many more Instances; but shall rather chuse to refer you to *Bonetus* and *Horstius*, where, I question not, but you will meet with sufficient Satisfaction as to this Matter.

There is one Thing remains which I had like to have forgot, and they seem to lay much Strefs upon it, viz. *His Lightness at some times*. As to this, I cannot conceive which way it should come to pass, except just as he return'd out of his Fit; for during it, his Spirits being so low and depressed, and in a manner lock'd up, and he, as it were, dead; and, if I mistake not (for I have not the Book by me) when he was so heavy, they say he was in his dead Fit; he must needs be to any one that took hold of him, in order to lift up, very heavy. This is so usual a thing, that no Person can be ignorant of it, that ever endeavour'd to assist any one that was either in a Trance, or Swoond. Now, when his Fit was going off, and his Spirits in some measure freed from their Fetters, and (if I may so say) set at Liberty, they flowing into all Parts, do invigorate and add Strength and Motion to them; so that if the same Person that had lifted at him before, should now at this instant chance to take hold on him, he would presently find a strange Alteration, and must needs think him comparatively extraordinary light; *Richard* himself perhaps at that time (coming, as we say, to himself) contributing no little thereunto; for I doubt not, but you will find that there is something of a Juggle in it, to get Mony. This is my Sense of the Thing, and is all what at present I have observed. That there may be any thing here, in any wise, either useful or beneficial to you in this your Undertaking, is the hearty Desire of Sir, &c.

You see, by the Help of my good Friends, I may hope to parallel the *Surey-Gambals*, and satisfy all unbiass'd Persons, from the Symptoms that attend convulsive Distempers, that for any Fears shewn by R. there was no necessity for, (and therefore no Reason to admit) the presence of a Ludicrous Demon, to play the *Merry Andrew*. Especially considering how inclinable R. was, even from his Childhood, to act such Interludes, and impose upon People by Phantastical Whims of a delusory Imagination. Thus he makes bold with his Master at School, and bids him feel if his Pockets were not full of Mony: And he tells his School-fellows of one *Sadler's Wife*, and how she had used him; which discovers a Genius that delighted in befooling People with Fancies, and frightening them with Stories: And you shall afterwards hear, that before *Richard* began these Pranks, he had fallen into those Hands which knew how to suit his Humour, and improve it too to their own advantage.

Now let us proceed to the Narrative and Depositions, whereby, resolving all Things into their proper Causes, I shall shew,

1. That



1. That R. Dugdale was not possessed by the Devil, as the Dissenting Ministers do pretend. Or,

2. If he was possessed, that he found no Benefit at all by those erroneously religious Offices that they performed for him. And these Assertions being proved, will not a little ruffle those Laurels, that the Ministers fancy to sit so rite and smooth on their triumphant Temples.

As for his Bouncing and Leaping, his antick Gestures, odd Feats, and apish Gesticulations; his being set upon, or standing on his Head, his running on his Hands and Feet, dancing upon his Knees, for the various Noises that were heard within him, and distinct Voices that seemed to come from him, his playing with the Rushes, &c. you have a double Solution for the most of them; one from R.'s Activity, the other from the Disease: So his Foaming and Frothing may be either Symptomatical, or, as I shall shew, Knavish: I know not but the Swelling, arising from his Foot, may be Knavish too, as well as Symptomatical; for I find Somers, who confest himself a Counterfeit, could dissemble it. Then as for his extraordinary Lightness and Heaviness, you see an handsom Offer at the Solution of it; yet, in its due place, I shall shew Reason to suspect it to be counterfeit. I name these Things here; but insist not on them, because they are the Particulars which the Depositions and Informations are chiefly concern'd in, and to that Place I do refer them. Proceed we therefore to the Narrative; and

I shall begin with the Dumb Devil, p. 3. which but about 12 Lines before had push'd R. to such Words and Deeds, as he neither meant beforehand, nor knew of, when past. 'Tis Ominous to stumble at the Threshold; yet here we meet with a talking Dumb Devil. Mr. C. to avoid the Blunder will pretend he meant the Dumbness only in his Fits. Be it so; he was surely in a Fit when he was acted by the Devil, and push'd thus to speak, &c. and yet it is a Dumb Devil. But on May the 29. 1689. when the Devil had learn'd to speak, He had two Astonishing Fits; and when either of them began, he was as blown, or snatched, or born up suddenly from his Chair, as if he would have flown away, but that the Holders of him hung at his Arms and Legs, and clung about him, one of whom came on purpose so as he might be unobserved among the other holders, p. 3, 4. Let the Reader here take notice that the observing Person was Mr. C. for in a Letter of his about this Matter he writes thus, *I going once out of Curiosity would need be one of those that held him, his Force, &c. Then as they said was the first time he spake in his Fit.* What use we shall make of this Observation, the Reader will hear anon.

As for his being snatch'd or born up, as if he would have flown away, and the Holders hanging at his Arms and Legs, &c. Since no one mentions it but Mr. C. altho' they take notice of his Leaping and Dancing in the Chair, and I find him framing such another Story out of the fruitful Magazine of his own Noddle, I give no credit to it. He tells us, p. 24. That Satan said on Sept. 3d. that he would spare Dicky fifty Days longer, but then he would carry him to Hell. Accordingly on Oct. 22. following, he saith, That R. as he came from the Surey to the Meeting at Altham, was hoisted up into the Air, p. 41. Say you so Mr. C.! But where was he set down again,



again, or did the Devil carry him to you at *Altham*? You should have told us how *R.* got from the Devil: But you were so full of your self, so Ambitious to be thought the Devils Tormentor, and so desirous that the World should know that you had been the *Wednesday* before on all Four, as your Devil calls it, that you forgot to tell us where *R.* landed: But I shall not forget to tell the World, that out of the Vanity you have to acquire the Title of *Damono Mastix*, or the Devils Tormentor, which he himself is pleas'd to Dub you with, you stick not to aggrandize your self by a Religious Lye; for all this Passage of *R.*'s being *Hoisted up 'into the Air*, is a Notorious Untruth, if we may believe the Person himself; and therefore I conclude the other Passage to be no better.

I shall afterwards have occasion to take notice of his *Wednesday* Fast; and therefore now I pass on to try his Prophetick Talent; the first Instance of which occurs, *p. 5.* When on the Lord's-day, *July 13, 1689.* *The Demoniack at Mr. Jolly's Meeting-place, in a Fit, cries out, according to the*

*Narrative,*

**Y**E talk of having six Ministers against me next *Wednesday* at the *Surey*; but there will only Five be there then; and I'll make Fools of you, for I'll be quiet at that time. Which words seem'd strange to Mr. *Jolly*, who on *Friday* before, with one or two more, many Miles from the *Surey*, had very privately named Six Ministers, as fit and desirable for attending the *Surey* Meeting, which they concluded to keep on the aforementioned *Wednesday, July 16, 1689.* But they only knew of Three Ministers, whose presence they then expected on the said *Wednesday.* Which Meeting, besides, they had kept private, and had not spoken of, so as it could be known to any of the *Surey*, by any Humane means, before the said Lord's-day Cry of the Demoniack; in whose *Wednesday*-morning Fit, he cried out, One *C.* will this Day terribly shake me; which amazed the By-standers, who had never before heard of a Minister so called, for it was but about half a Year since he first began to Preach, &c.

*To the Letter,*

**A**fterwards hearing that at the Minister's Prayers he talked, and was harrassed more outragiously, I went again out of Curiosity, the Ministers having the Week before pitched on that Day, speaking of six Ministers, yet knowing but of three that would come, not acquainting any with this their Assignment till Sabbath's Sermon, in which he fell into a Fit, crying, on *Thursday* there were six Ministers appointed to torment him, but only five should come, but he'd Befool them all, for he'd be quiet all the while. Yet having a Fit on *Wednesday*-night after, he said, Nay, *C.* should shake him; tho' I was unknown, unlook'd for in those Parts, this being my first going to the *Surey* (my first Journey being to a private Friends House) where the Ministers met about him on the said *Thursday.*

I know not what Predictions there may be in the Lord's-day Cry, as Mr. *C.* calls it; but I know there are both Contradictions and Falsities in



it. Mr. C. saith, in his Letter, *That he was unknown in those Parts*; yet he was one of those that held him when he first spake in his Fit, as I before desir'd you to observe. The Narrative saith, *the By-standers* (who flocked thither from all Parts) had never heard of a Minister so call'd; yet the very next Words intimate, That he had preached about half a Year, and the Place where he preached is a more noted Place, than any in that Country, and within eight Miles of the *Surey*. But these are pardonable Faults in Mr. C. those of a larger size only become him, such as are plain Contradictions and Falsties; for Instance, in his Letter he saith, the Fit, wherein R. cried out, *One C. will shake me*, was on *Wednesday-night*; in the Narrative he saith, it was on *Wednesday-morning*. Again, in his Letter, he saith twice, that the Meeting predicted was on *Thursday*. In the Narrative he saith, it was on *Wednesday, July 16, 1689*. Now if it was on *July 16, 1689*. it was neither on *Wednesday* nor on *Thursday*; for the 16th of *July* was that Year on a *Tuesday*. And is not this a goodly Instance, of our *Demoniack's* Predictions? Or what Credit must be given to his Predictions, when there is nothing of Truth in the Relation?

Besides, were all this true, as it is undeniably false, I see nothing in it, but what may be done by Information; for tho' Mr. Jolly's design could not be known to any at the *Surey* by any humane Means, p. 6. yet I cannot see why R. when he was at Mr. Jolly's Meeting-place might not have notice of it, p. 5. Such Equivocations there are in the Narrators Expressions.

The next Instance of his predicting Spirit is Mr. C.'s returning out of *York-shire, August 13*. when his Horse having lost a Shooe, for fear he should come too late, he left him, and went over the Fields on foot; *Who, when he was about two Fields off the Barn, where R. was, did look at his Watch behind an Hedge, to see if he were not too late, when he heard an hideous Noise from the Barn, wherein the Demoniack cried, Carrington, what a Clock is it? &c. Make way for C. &c. p. 7.* This is a remarkable Passage, and may be true, for ought I know; for all this might be discovered by Spies set on purpose to carry on the Design; and by the *Surey* there is an high Hill, well shaded with Trees, which commands all the Avenues to the *Surey*, from whence the Voice, (if any there was) might come, which at the same time would give notice to the Barn of Mr. C.'s approach. But I wonder, *when there were Crowds of Spectators*, as he saith, p. 7. not one is produced to confirm it, but we must wholly rely on Mr. C.'s Word; which by this time, I believe, is grown very cheap. I will not take Notice, that one of the Letters, which relates the same Passage, wants that Circumstance of looking at his Watch *behind an Hedge*; this is clapt into the Narrative, to make the Story look more plausible: But it is enough to overthrow the Credibility of the whole Passage: Besides, I love not to have Untruths tackt to any thing, for it makes the whole suspicious; and yet such I take these Words to be. *The Ministers being consulted herein were then pleased to accept of him, viz. Mr. C. as one of their Number in the Enterprize, p. 7.* For in his Letter, he saith, *They had invited him to be one of their Number*, the same day that Satan had intimated that C. would shake him, which was near a Month before this, viz. *July 16*. And 'tis plain he was then admitted into this Devil-casting-out Society,

for



for he was one that prayed with them that Day, and I suppose, made up the Number of Five, which the Lord's-days cry, gave notice of. By the Truth of this, therefore you may guess at the rest.

The next Thing that the Devil acquaints him with, is his Design of being Ordain'd, p. 11, 12. On which the Minister confesseth, *That it had some Weeks before been over and over in his Mind to offer himself to tryal for Ordination.* Some Weeks Mr. C. when you have already told us, you had been a Preacher about half a year, p. 6. But go on, and you say, *You had some Discourse with Mr. O. H. near Hallifax in Yorkshire, about your Ordination, which neither was, nor could be related at the Surey, by any Mortal, before the Demoniack thus rehearst it,* p. 12. Right: Nor was it necessary that it should, in order to the Demoniack's knowledge of it, which is all pretended to, p. 11. For Mr. C. you had preach'd half a year Un-ordain'd, and met with four other Ministers at the Surey the Month before; and why might not they discourse to you about Ordination; and R. gather this knowledge of it from them, and not from a familiar Spirit? If there be any Discipline among you, it was their Duty, when they had you with them, to admonish you not to preach before you were sent. And this is another equivocating Insinuation of the Narrators.

I would have passed over, as frivolous, if not false, the Reason you assign, why the Devil call'd you *Carlisle*; *Because, saith he, thou art going Carlisle-wards, &c.* p. 19. For I am told that *Lancaster* is not in the straight Way from the Surey to *Carlisle*. But I must observe, that when the Ministers were got to a day of Prayer and Conference, about the Place you were to be fixed at, they followed the Devils Instructions; for you tell us, *The Result was, that you were to go Carlisle-wards, which neither you, nor any Mortal knew of, before this Prayer-day,* p. 19. Thus the Ministers in an united Body follow the Devils Advice, and Mr. C. complyeth with it: So much of the Devil is there in Interest. For Mr. C. I find at another time, you would not condescend to speak a word of Latin to the Devil, for fear you should be thought *to follow the Devils Counsel, and do his pleasure,* p. 14. Which it seems you do not boggle at when Preferment is in the way. But you say, *No Mortal knew of this before that Prayer-day.* Softly, Mr. C. for your next words are, *That it was strange that your going towards Carlisle, should be told of by the Demoniack that Night, so long before it was resolved on.* Now this is a stranger thing to me, That the Demoniack should tell you of it so long before, and yet neither he, nor you know of it. But the strangest thing is what I hear, that your fixing at *Lancaster*, was neither the effect of the Minister's Conferences, nor the Demoniacks Predictions, but a base Trick whereby you abus'd the Frailty of a weak Brother.

I next proceed to the Stranger, whom Satan is pretended to discover, speaking out of the Lump on R.'s Breast or Belly; The passage is thus, p. 42. *A Stranger wholly unknown at the Surey, laying his Hand on the said Lump, these Words came out of it, Tho' thou be a Doctor of Physick, thou canst not help Dicky; for none but Doctors of Divinity, can do him any Good.* Upon which, the same Stranger being ask'd who he was?



*confest, that he was a Physician now come from Holland.* 'Tis brave to over-rule a Man by his own Confessions, especially one of Mr. C.'s Unbelievers, for such the Dr. was. The Person here spoke of, I am told was Dr. Shepherd; and, Mr. C. was he a *Stranger wholly unknown at the Surey?* Was he not there several times with Mr. Pendlebury, one of your Assisting Ministers, who brought him along with him? and yet, as if Mr. Pendlebury did not tell who he was, it must be pretended that *he was ask'd who he was*; and thereupon, *confest, That he was a Physician, &c.*

Another Prediction Occurs, p. 43. where six Ministers being appointed to observe three days in one Week, viz *Wednesday, Thursday, Friday; Friday* (the Narrative affirms) *fell to Mr. C.'s day, which he finding that he could not observe, came within four Miles of the Surey on the Tuesday-Evening, that he might assist at the Wednesday work, and get some other in his stead for the same Friday work, which the Demoniack is there said to foretel.* But I have good Reason to suspect the Truth of this, for he mentions the same thing in one of his Letters; only there is this difference; the Letter saith there were to be nine Ministers, and affirmeth *Wednesday, not Friday, to be Mr. C.'s day.* 'Tis true, it mentions also the Demoniack's foretelling his coming; but since the Narrative and Letter agree not, I cannot believe but that there was Juggle in it, the Circumstances of which Mr. C. hath forgot, and that makes the Accounts to differ.

The Demoniack, p. 48. is said to foretel, in a Fit, *That some Money was coming to him, before any Mortal could bring him the News thereof.* Did he so, Mr. C.? He was basely mistaken: For as R.'s Parents and Sisters tell the Story, you took care to cheat him of it. You shew'd to Wh. one of R.'s Keepers, a Bag you had collected for him, but would not then give him a Penny, because he and his Friends would not confess to Witchcraft. And old Dugdale mentioning this slippery Trick of yours, added, with Tears in his Eyes, *I believe the Money went to Print his Book withal.* 'Tis true, you sometimes did send them Money, but you Ate and Drank it yourselves afterwards; the poor Man being so impoverish'd, that he was constrain'd to sell Two Head of Cattle; which is next to devouring Widows Houses. And this very Paragraph, taking notice of your *Eating when the Fast-day Work was over, and ceasing the Offers of getting Money,* seems to confess all this.

I will here but mention two Instances of his Presages more, the rest falling under other Heads; and they are such as may give ample Satisfaction of the Excellency of his Faculty herein. The first is, p. 47. where he is said to tell *what Distress Ireland was then in,* and I wonder who did not know it? But he added, *That England must pay the Piper* (as he phrased it) *notwithstanding its present Security.* A wonderful Prediction, that either my Neighbour R. or the learned Mr. C. in his voluminous Readings had met with in the Prophecies (as they call them) annex'd to Mother Shiptons, where his Devilship reads thus:

*In Germany begins a Dance,  
Which passeth through Italy, Spain and France,  
And to Ireland is a Leaper.*

*There*



*There the Dance lieth at a Hand,  
Till it ventures o're into Scotland;  
But England shall pay the Piper.*

Now the Devil might as well have sent R. to eat Bread and Cheese with Cottom Lafs and Mr. C. at Sparth, as have made such Prophecies as these are.

The last occurs, p. 49. in these Words; *One going by the Surey towards the Meeting* (he saith not where it was) *was told by the Demoniack in a Fit, What needest thou go to the said Meeting? Thou mayst as well stay here, for I can tell thee the Sermon that will be preached there: Upon which he told the Text, and much of the Sermon, that was that Day preached at the said Meeting.* Say you so Mr. C.? You have in these few Lines satisfied the World, what that Spirit is that you preach by; for how could the Devil tell the Text, and so much of the Sermon, unless the Preacher was his Prophet, and he the Oracle? You had better have let this Prediction alone. You before have told us, That some of you borrowed part of a Sermon from the Devil. This Man, whoever he was, is such a Plagiary as I never met with, that makes bold to borrow a piece of a Sermon from the Devil: But there is a Reason for it, *For Satan described much of the nature and sorts of Hell-torments, at a more lively and terrible rate, than ever the By-standers knew done by Mens Books or Sermons, p. 15. And this was form'd into a Discourse at T.* Be that where it will; the Hearers could not but be wonderfully edified by their Minister, that received the Minutes of his Sermon from the Devil. So here again you say, That the Demoniack did tell, what Sermon would be preach'd. Now he must needs have it (according to your Opinion) from the Devil; and if this be your Edifying-Preaching, and Preaching by the Spirit, pray God deliver all Men from it; for you make the Devil to have no small Hand in it.

The next Thing that occurs, is his speaking Latin and Greek, p. 9. for which I shall be accountable under another Head; as also for the Commission writ in Greek, p. 34. Only I must not pass by the Reason why Mr. C. refused this Challenge of the Devils, which he gives us, p. 14. where he tells that he declined it, *lest the Hearers might think he used Charms and Spells, and inchanting Words and magical Expressions, to conjure Satan out of the Youth: And (saith he) I'd rather the Hearers should repute me unlearned for refusing, than an Exorcist for abusing strange Languages in our Dialogues.* Now this said Gentlemen had but 3 Pages before, viz. p. 11. in an Harangue to the Devil, been talking to him of the *Scirim*, and the *Ziimim*, and the *Ochim*; and why might not his Hearers take these Words for Charms and magical Spells, as well as *Collaquamur Latine*, &c. and two Pages after he comes in with *Sampson's Enbakhore*? p. 16. And this might have been Magick too for ought his Hearers knew: Sure I am it is abusing not only Strange, but Holy Language. But this would be a Cloak to cover Mr. C.'s Weakness; and tho' he run himself upon Inconsistencies, his Auditors are so accustomed to it, that that Man carries the Vogue among 'em, that can talk the most Nonsense with the greatest Impudence.

I next come to consider the Discoveries which the Devil made of Things utterly unknowable to meer Mortals. This is a great Word for any one



to assert; for if there was a Combination, as is confessed, and I hope I have proved, no Man can well say, where Two are concerned, what is unknowable: Yet such Mr. C. reckons the knowledge at *Surey*, that he had any Bed-fellow, much less that his Bed-fellow was an Unbeliever; p. 34. Mr. C. may presume on what he pleaseth; but when I have told the Story, it will not appear to be so altogether unknowable at the *Surey*.

The Gentleman's House where Mr. C. lay, he tells you, is within a Mile of the *Surey*, p. 34. and it seems to be late when he went there, for he calls it but a *piece of a Night*, p. 35. So that, in all probability, some from the *Surey* brought him thither; for they would scarce let him go in the Night-time so far alone, especially considering the badness of his Eyesight. When they came there, the House was so full that, had they not prevailed with his *unbelieving Bed-fellow* to admit him, Mr. C. might have return'd from whence he came for a Bed, or sate up all Night. Now they at the *Surey* very well knew, that the Person that he lay with took them for Cheats, and the whole Business to be a piece of Roguery, and was therefore one of Mr. C.'s Unbelievers; of which take this Account from this *unbelieving Bed-fellow* of his B. as it comes from himself: Who tells you,

That one of *Dugdale's* Sisters came to him from *Morton* one Evening, and desired him to send some Person to help her Father, or *Dicky* would kill him: Upon which Mr. B. went to the *Surey*, and took a Smith with him, where they found R. roaring, and beating his Father; but when *Dicky* saw Mr. B. he left his Father, and came roaring up to him as if he would have struck him; but Mr. B. standing briskly up to him, he turned away from him: After which, Mr. B. desired his Father and Mother to let him beat him a little; but they cried out, Mr. B. would kill their Child.

Lay these Things together, and what is related will not seem impossible to be known at the *Surey*. One of them brings Mr. C. to the Gentleman's House, which being full, he is constrained to lie with an *unbelieving Bed-fellow*; who looking on him, and those he had to deal with, to be a pack of Cheats, would, on course, fall on the Discourse that brought Mr. C. so late to him. And if Mr. C. had not been talking of it (and his Tongue kept very little secret that his Heart vain-gloriously imagined) a reasonable Surmize would have easily enforced it.

But the Truth of the Matter is this: The Discourse that he pretends to have with Mr. B. in Bed, was publickly at Dinner at this same Gentleman's House, some time before he lay with him. Such an excellent Faculty hath our Narrator at forming a Legend. The Business is, Mr. C. wanted another Subject for the Devil and him to talk on; and he found by this Device, that he could both gratify his and the Devils talking Humour; and adds, as he saith, a *fresh Instance of his Devils discovering Things above humane Capacity*, p. 35. leaving no room for Disbelief, but *inforcing the said Arguments into a Demonstration*. And so the Devil and Mr. C. dispute about the washing his Mouth with Water, whereby the Devil saith, p. 36. *That Mr. C. broke his Fast*; Mr. C. saith, *That he did not*. And the Query is, whether of them must be believed. And I think we may



may believe them both alike: For some that could not but be concerned in this Passage, assure me, That they esteem this another of Mr. C.'s Fables, and give good Reasons for it too. But Mr. C. at length gets the better: And yet his making the Devil to truckle thus, spoils the whole Fancy, and proves what before was hinted: For *Melampus* either saw him put the Water he sput out of his Mouth, or he did not: If he saw him, he was a Fool of a Devil to assert that which he knew his Tormentor would afterwards force him to deny; If he did not, he was really very civil to his Tormentor, to take him upon his Word, and believe him in what he did not himself see; but the Story being wholly Mr. C.'s, we have reason to believe it all over Romance. For, I beseech you, *what must we make of the Devil in the Wall, and the parly betwixt them?* (i. e. *Melampus*, and *Apollyon*,) p. 36. Poor Mr. C. ! one Grain of Sense would do you more good, than the Barly-py-Crust you were once so fond of. Are you a Divine, and understand the way of Spirits communicating with one another no better than thus? Or do you conceive locality to be requisite for their Parley, that one must be in the Wall, and the other in your Demoniack? I perceive whence it is, that your Hearers have the Notions of something speaking to him out of the Ground, chiding with him about his Casts, &c. Such deep Divinity as this must needs have a strange tendency towards reforming the Age. But to unfold the Mystery of R.'s talking with something in the Wall, in the Ground, &c. you must know, That the Barn where R. and Mr. C. held forth, is raised about a Yard, or perhaps something more from the Ground with a Stone, the rest was run up with Reeds, which excluded the Sight, but would admit the Voice. When *Richard* talked with the Spirit in the Wall, he turned to these, and then made his Discoveries; for some of his Correspondents are supposed to be on the other side the Wall, and gave him Information.

Madam H. went to the *Surey* to see R. His Sisters enquired who she was; she was placed on high, (being afraid of R.) out of his reach; and after some time R. talks with his Spirit in the Wall, and then cries out, Mrs. H. come down with the Mony in thy Pocket; and this I take to be the whole of what *Waddington* hath magnified, p. 63. But faith a Gentleman with her, I am satisfied by what I observed; that R.'s Sister, through the Reedy-wall, gave him notice of her. And from this you may understand what his talking with the Spirit in the Wall means.

Another Instance of R.'s Discoveries is, p. 47. *wherein he is said to tell what was secretly said and done elsewhere: As to instance; Rebecca Wilkinson, Widow Chew's maid, when come from home to the Surey was told, by Satan, the Words she spoke, as she came out of her Dames door, viz. My Dame is gone to the Holy House of God, and I will creep to the Surey.* These Words must be spoken in *Whalley Town*, and no doubt but in a Bravado of her creeping to the *Surey*, and by Persons enough might be conveyed to the *Surey* that is so near. But if you have a mind the Devil should give the Informations, I will not dispute with you about it; all that can be made of it, is, that he is very familiar with Conventiclers, both Minister and People: He was with you Mr. C. in your Bed-chamber, and with her at her Dames door; and if this be your Company, we shall



shall never have reason to envy Conventiclers ; for the *Manchester-whelp*, as you from R. call him, p. 47. had he staid at home, he perhaps might have had better Language : But for his looking at the Dial at Morton, it is not so far off the *Surey*, but Spies enough might inform R. both of him, and it. But because the stress in this place lies on the Persons being a Stranger, I will tell my Reader a Story I had from the *Demoniack*, and desire he would apply it to this Case, and some others in the Informations, which are grounded on that same bottom.

The Ministers you must know, were very jealous of Strangers ; and if they saw a strange Face were unwilling to act, till they were satisfied who it was. One Day, among the rest, a Quaker-woman was got thither to see what past ; she was unknown it seemed to any there, and the Ministers cying her from Top to Toe, saw a broad splay Foot, which because it was not Cloven they excused from being the Devil's, but shrewdly suspected it to belong to a Popish Priest ; hereupon she is examined, but is not able to remove their Jealousy, so that the Work of that Day had like to have been lost, for they would not engage till they had certain knowledge who she was, and then the People must have returned like ----- as they came. At length she call'd to mind a Neighbour that she knew, who was sent for ; and, acquainting them with his knowledge of the Person, she was admitted to partake of the Pastime. All that I shall say of it, is, if the Ministers must know who came, why might not R. ? So that the *Manchester-whelp* might be known, tho' he had none of his Wares about him.

But his Sisters, as I am well inform'd, were constantly plying about to bring in Informations ; and how they conveyed them to him indiscernibly you have already heard. Besides, I am told, the *Surey* was a common Receptacle for all the young Lasses in the Neighbour-hood to come on Spinning at ; a Custom used in the North. And they would bring in the News of all the Country ; so that R. could not want matter to make seeming Discoveries on to all that frequented him. And this gives an account of his pretending to tell what People said, or did when distant from him.

After this follows the Woman with her Bread and Cheese in her Pocket : And tho' she was at the further end of the Barn, p. 47. as R. was Galloping it about, he might easily take the scent of it. But how ridiculous is it, to make it a Wonder that he should call upon a weak faithed Jade, that was within a Bow-shoot of the Barn, p. 50. to come in, when the very Talk of her Fear among them would sufficiently inform him of her ? And to set down Mr. J. G. being at such time on a Hay Cart, which tho' they say, was found true, is of my knowledge more than the Gentleman himself will say.

I have done with the Narrative, for nothing more remains in it for me to take notice of, but some few Passages that will be serviceable to me for another purpose, for which I reserve them : I now pass to the Informations and Depositions, and shall answer them, as I have done the Narrative, that nothing may be left insoluble. The Depositions, and what is added in the Informations before the Justices, are as follow :

The



## Surey Demoniack.

41

*The Testimony and Informations, upon Oath, of several Persons who voluntarily offered themselves, concerning R. Dugdale of Whalley, in the County of Lancaster Gardiner, taken before Hugh Lord Willoughby, and Ralfe Egerton, Esq; Two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Lancaster, at Holcomb in the said County, 29th Day of July, 1695.*

dy preferred for the Informants, to swear to, which for good reason Mr. Bradyl refused; out of which I have given you a few Observations. I have refused also the substance of Fielding's, Livesay's, Grimshaw's, and Smalley's Informations, before the Justices, to their respective Hands; under the Depositions, and other Informations which I thought to notify, that the Cavaliers, seeing them wanting, might not have occasion to pretend I evaded any Thing.

The Reader is desired to take notice, That I have by me the Informations, taken before Mr. Bradyl and Mr. Egerton at Darwen, July 2. to 1695. out of which I have added some Things, that are not here: Also, a Paper then added thereto brought by Mr. Jolly, ready

**T** *Thomas Dugdale* Father of the said *R. Dugdale*, maketh Oath, That he consulted one *Crabtree* in behalf of his said Son, then under a strange Distemper and had this Answer; *That if there was Money enough, he could effect the Cure*: Whereupon this Deponent, seeing his Son's Body much weakened with the said *Crabtree's* Phisick, and Fits more violent, did apply himself to Mr. *Jolly*, a neighbouring Minister, and other of his Brethren in the Ministry. And this Deponent saith, he hath seen his Son vomit up Stones several times, and other Things.

Once he declared, he must either vomit Gold, Silver, or Brasse-rings, and an Hair-Button, and accordingly he did so. At other times he vomited great Stones, also blew Stones, like Flints. One time he vomited a Stone that was an Inch and an half long and an Inch and an half broad, having Blood upon the Edges, which this Deponent, and others standing by him, apprehended it was very painful to him. And further this Deponent maketh Oath, That one Day, a little before Night, walking by his Son, then in a Fit, it growing dark, a Candle being brought in, the Deponent looking upon him, there was a great Stone laid upon his Belly, weighing about 12 or 13 Pounds; this Deponent, not knowing how it came there, nor was there any such like Stones about the House. Besides, Stones have been thrown at the Barn-side, falling very thick upon the Door, yet this Deponent could never discover the Hand which threw them, nor any Person employed therein, altho' this Deponents Wife was hit with one of them, but without any Hurt. At other times the said *R. Dugdale* would cast Goose-dung at this Deponent and others standing by, which he seem'd to fetch out of the Barn-side; although neither this Deponent nor those that were with him, could find any there, nor discover any that brought it; nor was there any Geese kept at the House, nor other Geese came near it. And, lastly, this Deponent saith, *That his said*

Being asked, what was become of them, he replied, he knew not what was become of them. Inform'd before Mr. Bradyl.

That all this was Leger-remain, D. B. proves from the very Stone, which was (saith he) so large that it was impossible it should pass any Mans Fances, without tearing the Passage; and consequently, must have been no further than his Mouth. As for Blood being on the Edge of this or other Stones, it was not mentioned at *Darwen*. I say no more.

This is not in the Information taken by Mr. Bradyl, but is added from Mr. Jolly's Paper.

In the Information before Mr. Bradyl, there are three Things more which are here omitted, v. z. *That he hath seen the said R. Dugdale taken up and set with his Head against the wall* That after Mr. Jolly and the rest had left him, he had several Fits. That, demanding of his Son, what his Distemper might be, or after what manner he might conceive it to come? *R. Dugdale* answered, He did not know.

*Rich. hath Hiding-places.*

G

Son



This is moderate, for in the Information, before Mr. Bradyll, it is almost as fast as a Grey-hound.

*Son would run upon his Hands and Feet together, as fast as most Men could run upon their Feet alone, and his Body would be sometimes so heavy, that two or three strong Men could hardly lift it up; at other times as light, as a bag of Feathers.*

*John Walmsley of Harwood, in the said County of Lancaster, deposeth, That he hath seen the said R. Dugdale in a Fit held in a Chair by 6 Men; and while his Feet were off the Ground, he hath leaped up in the Chair 2 or 3 Hours together, as fast as a Man could ordinarily count any thing; and hath so sweated through his Cloaths, that it hath stood like a Dew upon them. Moreover this Deponent hath taken the said R. Dugdale by his Shooe, betwixt this Deponents formost Finger and his Thumb, another taking him at his Head, and lifting him up, this Deponent cou'd not think he weighed 6 pounds. And further, this Deponent saith, That Mr. Jolly, the Minister, sending word by him to the said R.'s Father that the Ministers would be at his House called Surey such a Day; this Deponent, going the same Day he was spoken to with his Errand, the said R. declared it before this Deponent mentioned it; as likewise what Ministers would be there. And furthermore this Deponent, upon his Oath, saith, That the said R. Dugdale in some of his Fits, opening his Hand, hath received written Papers into it, none of the By-standers knowing how they came thither, which the said R. Dugdale had given People that were about him: Also the said Deponent hath seen him shuffle Rushes, like Cards, and play Games on them, as tho' he had been playing with some other Person, with whom he had chid about the Casts, cursing and swearing in his Play; and then said, \* Do not Gamesters thus? He likewise play'd with Rushes as tho' they had been Dice, using exactly several Expressions belonging to that Play; saying, † People think this is laid on me for my Sins, but I never was a Gamester in my Life; neither do I know how to play at such Games when out of my Fits. And the said R. Dugdale did likewise play at Bowls, making Bowls of Rushes; and when he had thrown the Jack, he said, I must now throw my Gill; then running a good way, as tho' he had been running after a Bowl, swearing, Run, run; Flee, flee; Hold a Byass. Sometimes he catch'd up Rushes, as tho' they had been Bowls, swearing, \* Sirrah, stand out of the way, or I'll knock out your Brains; adding, I never was a Bowler; but do not Gentlemen do thus? And this Deponent saith, that the said R. Dugdale had several Fits, after his being threatned with being brought before a Justice of Peace. And once being in his last Fit, when this Deponent was present, he declared, His affliction was through Obsession, and in a Combination, which should never be discovered, whilst the World endured. And this Deponent hath seen him in a Fit, as in a great Argument with something he could not see, and then hath been*

\* This is not in the Information before Mr. Bradyll but is in Mr. Jolly's Paper offered at Darren.  
† This is also from Mr. Jolly's Paper.  
\* Still Mr. Jolly's Paper.

The Information before Mr. Bradyll adds, with his Back to the Wall; so Dugdale the Father. But Will. Livesey, in his Information before the Justices, saith, That the said R. Dugdale, dancing on his Feet three Yards from the Wall of the Barn, was as soon as

taken up and thrown backwards, set upon his Head, and so stood till he was pull'd down by one Fletcher. Also this Deponent hath heard him Curse and Swear, his Gesture being so terrible it would have frighted a Man to come near him; and yet, in a moments time after, in such a Fear, that he hath sought



sought to creep into any hole, or behind any Body to have hid himself, and lamented himself, as moved the Standers-by with great Compassion. He would other times have told when his Fits would begin, when they were 2 or 3 in one Day, or 3 or 4 Days asunder, wherein he was never disproved that he knew of; which Fits began with the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upward into the Chest of his Body; and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead, or breathless, and then would have a strange noise in his Mouth and Nose, and there would be in his Bosom like Whelps, before he had risen; after which, sometime he would be very furious, sometimes more quiet.

*R. D.* which he understood not, as plainly as if he had been with him. *Mr. Jolly's* Paper hath it, when he was at least a Mile and an half distant from him.

*William Loond* of *Harwood*, Carrier, in the County of *Lancaster*, maketh Oath, That he hath heard the said *R. D.* Curse and Swear, his Gesture being so terrible, it would have frightened a Man to come near him; and yet in a moment of time after, in such a Fear, that he hath sought to creep into any Hole, or behind any Body, to have hid himself; and so lamented himself, as moved the Standers-by with great Compassion. He would at other times have told when his Fits would begin, when they were 2 or 3 in one Day, or 3 or 4 Days asunder, wherein he never was disappointed that he knew of; which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards into the Chest of his Body; and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead or breathless; and then would have strange Noise in his Mouth and Nose, and there would be in his Bosom like Whelps, before he had risen. After which, we would sometimes be very furious, sometimes more quiet.

barking of a Dog, which *Mr. C.* Rhetorically describes, p. 4. What from him all along; Sometimes as of Swine or Water-mills; or as if a Bear and other wild Beasts had joyned their several Notes, to make a dreadfull Peal of Noises.

*John Livesay* of *Clayton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Skinner, maketh Oath, That the Deponent, being at home with him the said *R. Dugdale*, he Cursed and Swore, making an Answer to something at the Window that he could not see, when he called *Nicolas*, saying, He would go with him. And this Deponent being with him at the Chapel-door, he then being in a Trance, this Deponent observed there would be such a noise in his Breast, as went in course with the Peoples Voices, singing

G 2

one could turn himself, set streight up on his Head, and was as stiff as a Tree. And in the Narrative, that he seemed to hang in the Barn with his Head downwards, and his Heels towards the top thereof, in the Information before *Mr. Eradyll*, there are these Passages more. The Informant dreamed of him, viz. *R. D.* What he thought might be the occasion of his distemper? But the said *R. D.* said, he could give him no account of it: And the Informant was present, when *Mr. Jolly* *Mr. Carrington*, and other Ministers preached, and prayed by the said *R. D.* yet the Informant could not conceive but his Fits continued still as violent as before, even the last Fit. And further, one Evening about a mile or more from the Surey, where the said *R. D.* then was, the said Informant declares, That he heard several words spoken by the said

Compare this with the last part of the foregoing Deposition, and then tell me, if you don't believe one Man worded them both; and remember what I before have said of *Mr. Jolly*, p. 11.

*John Fielding*, in his Information before the Justices, saith, To his thinking, he heard something within him, like Pigs sucking of a Sow; also like the amazing hideous sounds were heard in or as if a Bear and other wild Beasts had joyned

*John Grimshaw's* Information before the Justices, saith, That being in a Fit he said, *Nicolas*, art thou there? What peepst thou for? Come up; then said, seest thou where thy Mother sits?

*R.* could speak out of his Breast; this Trance was therefore Counterfeit.

Psalmis



In Mr. Jolly's Paper this *Livesay* was to have sworn with *Nicolas Grimshaw*, That in his Fit they sometimes lifted at one part of his Body which they guess to be 200 weight. In the Information before Mr. *Bradyll* it is, That he the said *Livesay*, endeavouring to lift him, viz. *R. D.* he cou'd not, judging him near 200 weight.

In Mr. Jolly's Paper it is as before, at least a Mile and an half.

*Plams* within, singing or tuning as they did; and ceased when they ceased; and whilst his Eyes were close shut, he told a Woman she had a Pipe in her Pocket, which proved very true. Also this Deponent hath seen him run over 3 or 4 Stiles with his Eyes shut, and hath heard his Voice as in his ordinary Discourse, when the Deponent hath been above a Mile distant from him.

*Nathaniel Waddington* of *Altham*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, upon his Oath, saith, That he hath carried the said *R. Dugdale* in one of his Fits, for the space of 8 Roods; That in the beginning of some of his Fits, he would be as light as a Feather-bowlder, but before he came out, heavier than a load of Corn; that sometimes this Deponent hath taken him off the Ground by the Buttons with one Hand, and to this Deponents thinking he has weighed but 20 Pounds. And further, this Deponent saith, That in some of his Fits, a Swelling as big as a Man's Head in one of his Legs, moved towards his Knee: That in some of his Fits he had more force, than Six strong Men.

*John Darwitt* of *Wiswall*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, maketh Oath, That he hath seen the said *R. Dugdale* dance upon his Knees, without touching Ground with his Toes, with his Body bowed forward, and that for the space of a quarter of an Hour, with as much activity, as tho' he had been upon his Feet. And hath also seen him dance upon his Toes, quickly changing to dance upon his Knees, and so has leaped up again upon his Feet; and has seen him in a Fit have motions of dancing antickly, being kept down in a Chair.

*William Seller* of *Pendleton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, maketh Oath, That he heard the said *R. Dugdale* in his Fit, utter Words, which this Deponent understood not; in one of which Fits, 12 Men could not hold him, but with ease he would throw them a good distance from him. And, another time, the Deponent being told by Mr. Jolly, he expected the said *R. Dugdale* would have a Fit about 7 a Clock next morning, wished this Deponent to see the said *R. D.* giving this Deponent 5 s. for him; but before this Deponent could come up to the said *R. D.* he cried here's a Man will bring Mony to Day, and fell a leaping and dancing in the Barn as a Token of Joy. But, after a while, seeming to be displeased at something, he said, *Dick, Dick*, thou shalt have Meat enough; and not long after fell down Dead, and then in a little time turn'd of his Back, and seem'd to fall on Eating; at which time this Deponent, with *R. Dugdale* his Uncle, lifted at him twice, and found him to be as light as a Hat or Walking-Cane. And when he was sensible, this Deponent demanded of him the occasion of his Distemper. And whether he had made some Contract with the Devil? Who answered, saying, *Would you have me to Lye?* This Deponent also maketh Oath, That at a Meeting in one *William Waddington's* House in *Altham*, the said *R. D.* made such a Noise, as terrified several People, in so much that they left the House: And at the same time, this Deponent heard two distinct

Voices



*Voices at once come from him the said R. D. the one being a very hideous Noise, which running through the Crowd, put some People into an horrible trembling, that some of them said they thought the Devil then went out of him.*

*Laurence Robertshaw of Harwood, in the County of Lancaster, Woolen-Weaver, deposeth, and saith, upon his Oath, That he heard one of the Ministers then present, and the Devil (as he supposeth) in the said R. Dugdale, talk one to another; one Passage this Deponent well remembers, viz. The Minister said, Satan thou hast made a Trial both of Heaven and Hell, whether of them likest thou better? To which an Answer was given by Satan (as this Deponent supposeth) saying, Hell is my Palace, and Paradise, where I'll have thee shortly. Upon which the said R. D. shivered as if one Joynt would have fallen from another; and many other Sayings, could this Deponent report, was he thereunto required.*

The Narrative is full of these Conferences, yet none else takes notice of them but this Person; and the Narrative takes no notice of the 1st Passage here mentioned.

The Information before Mr. Br. adds, That the Informant has seen the said R. D. as if he had been tied Neck and Heels; and also, as if he had been pinioned, and by degrees one Limb after another, stretching it self out he became streight.

*Thomas Booth of Hayhouses, in the County of Lancaster, Carpenter, maketh Oath, That he heard several Voices come from the said R. Dug. his Lips not moving; and his Tongue appeared to be strangely rowled on a lump, and his Eye-balls turn'd inward, at the time on the several Voices came from him. And further, this Deponent saith, That in the time of his Fits, the said R. D. was sometimes of an exceeding lightness, and again of an exceeding heaviness; sometimes as light as a Chip, and again as heavy as a Horse, and all in one and the same Fit. In the light part of his Fit, this Deponent hath taken him up about his Hips betwixt this Deponent's Hands, and he was so light this Deponent thought he cou'd lift twenty such.*

Had he  
as light  
Chip,  
might  
lifted 2  
such.

*The Depositions aforesaid were taken at the Time and Place? Willoughby,  
afore-mention'd upon the Holy Evangelists, before us, } Ralph Egerton.*

*James Abbott of Whitbeck, in the County of Lancaster, Dyer, declares, That he went on purpose to see the said R. D. at Surey, the place of his abode, having no Acquaintance with him; nor had he any knowledge of this Informant, as this Informant verily believeth; when this Informant came, the said R. D. being in one of his Fits, said, Abbott, thou think'st no Body knoweth thee, but I know thee well enough, thou must go into Cheshire and Staffordshire; when as this Informant saith, he had not so much as such a design of such a Journey to his remembrance; but accordingly it hapned that this Informant went this Journey soon afterwards.*

*John Whalley of Harwood in the County of Lancaster, Hair-cloth-weaver, informs the same which John Fielding doth: And further informs the same with John Walmsley as to the said R. Dugdale's Carding, Dicing, and Bowling. And moreover informs, That he, this said Informant, being with R. D. in one of his Fits, he said, There were Lapideers (as he call'd 'em) a coming, and presently after came a Stone, which this Informant took up, and felt it to be very warm. And further informs, That the said R. D. in his Fits, did ordinarily tell when the next Fit would come.*

John.



*John Whitehead* of *Banbey*, Labourer, informeth, that at *Mr. Jolly's* House, the Informant endeavouring to hold the said *Dug.* in his Fit, by the Wrist of his Arm, could by no means do it, for this Informants Fingers were no sooner closed but they opened again.

*N. B.* The first part of his Information being of the same Nature with many others, is omitted.

*John Fletcher*, of *Harwood*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Husbandman, declares, That he hath seen the said *R. Dugdale* in many of his Fits, wherein he hath barked like a Mastiff Dog, being then as strong as ten Men; for this Informant hath been one of the ten Men that hath undertaken to hold him. Also that this Informant one time found him in the River of *Calder* up to the Neck in Water, crying out and saying, Wilt thou drown me? Wilt thou drown me? Striking at the same time upon the Water with two Sticks. Whereupon this Informant, with the help of others, by a Rope drew him out of the Water. The said *Dug.* being then in a dumb Fit, which began in the Water, and continued near 4 Hours afterwards. And further, this Informant saith, He found in the Barn where the said *D.* lay, a round Hole in the Hay like a Hens Nest, wherein were several Stones laid together, cast by the said *D.* which were warm, and hath seen the said *D.* running upon his Hands and Feet, barking and howling. And the said *D.* being fate down, he hath seen him several times thrown 5 or 6 Yards from the Place. And being to help this Informant to cleave a piece of Wood, the said *D.* upon his first stroke had his Ax flew one way, and himself cast about 12 Yards from the Place.

Before I come to Answer these Depositions and Informations, I shall, as before I examin'd the sincerity of the Editors, so here inquire into the Temper of the Witnesses; whom I shall shew to be both forward, and fanciful: Forward, for the Depositions are almost Word for Word the same with the Paper which *Mr. Jolly* offered at *Darwen*: So that the Deponents are *Mr. Jolly's* sworn Creatures, and he, as you have heard, is no very fair Prompter. In the next place, they are very Fanciful, and by consequence inclinable enough to improve every Circumstance to its utmost enlargement; of which I will produce two Instances out of the Narrative, and another out of the Informations.

The first shall be that of the Mouse, *p. 30.* for Satan (as the Narrator calls him) threatening, *I will call up my Sister Ishcol against thee*; and a Mouse appearing (no doubt but a bold Country-mouse, well fed by the Bread and Cheese, which the People brought with them in their Pockets, *p. 47.* and perhaps some Crums of the Barly Pye-crust that *Mr. C.* loved, *p. 16.*) The By-standers cried out, See where the Mouse that is used to haunt him, runs circling about his Feet, and now it dropt as into the Ground, so as it can be no more seen. On which the Narrator observes, Upon which the Demoniack was as thrown down with his Mouth to that very spot of the Ground, where the said Mouse, or Imp seem'd to disappear, he was whispering there unintelligibly to something that was neither seen nor heard. Then the Minister said, what art thou mumbling or muttering about Satan? Here you see not only the Credulity of the People, Minister, and all, who will



will needs have a Hunting-mouse to be an Hellish Imp; but the Art and Cunning of the pretended Demoniack, who knew how to impose upon them, from every little Circumstance; and by flinging himself where the Mouse seem'd to hole, and mumbling over it, makes the Minister, and all believe, that he was talking with his Sister *Iskcol*: And then follows another Conference betwixt the Devil and his Friend Mr. C. and this again argues that R. knew what he did when in his Fits.

The other Instance is, p. 37. upon Mr. C's hectoring poor *Apollyon*, for owning himself to be but an underling Slave, and a poor diminutive one indeed, being under no greater a Devil, than Beelzebub, the Lord of Flies; which rebellious Flies contemn'd his Lordship, &c. The Minister thus arguing about Flies, some of the Spectators, as in a Commotion said, see, see, some Things, like Flies, are flying up into the Demoniack's Nose. What account must we expect from such whimsical People as these are? You see they are plainly led by Fancy, and yet these are the Credible People that attest it to Matter of Fact.

And the Informations afford us an other Instance, viz. the Swelling which a little preceeded his Fit; and this they take to be a living Creature, working like a Mole; *The said Creature did arise under the Skin*, saith *James Fielding*; and *Thomas Core* lends it a Tongue; *I have heard strange voices coming out of it*, saith he, in his Information, which Mr. C. assents to, p. 24. *As if one of the Voices that talk'd within him* (as he saith) *to one another* came thence; nay, he makes Satan to speak out of it to the *Leyden Dr.* p. 42. Such fanciful Creatures are both Minister and People.

But it is time to proceed to the Depositions and Informations; and the Narrative pretending to no more, than what is attested by the Oath of credible Persons, I stand only to give an Answer to what is deposed, and informed before the Justices. And yet I cannot but conceive it a Mystery, that some are brought to inform before the Justices, when others roundly depose, and that too at one and the same time, and place. There is a reason for the thing, and indeed the Informants stretch a little farther than the Deponents do; yet the Deponents traverse their Point titely. I could not forbear smiling when I read *Robert Shaw's* Deposition, which concludes with these Words, *And many other Sayings could this Deponent report, was he thereunto required.* Neighbour *Rob. Shaw*, you are, I suppose, a Volunteer, and do you need Spurring? Must you be required? Did you not come from *Harwood*, as far as *Holcomb*, on purpose to lend an Oath? And what do you talk of being required for? Or were not your Hands upon the Holy Evangelists, to speak the Truth, and the whole Truth; and have you still a Reservation, *Was he thereunto required?* 'Tis such an Expression, for a Man upon his Oath to use, as I have not often met with; but I find you are a cunning Gamester, you swear, *You heard one of the Ministers then present, and the Devil (as you suppose) in the said R. D. talk one to another.* And again, *Satan* (as the Deponent supposeth) saying, &c. This Supposition of yours is very serviceable to your self, for it is a Salvo for Perjury, if the Devil chanc'd not to be so near you; but it spoils your Oath, for I need but suppose as you do, That it was  
not



not Satan that talk'd with the Minister, and you have sworn nothing to purpose. But to come to the Depositions.

I have before made full proof of a Combination; I have given you an Account of R's activity, together with the Symptoms of the Disease, which will enable us to resolve into natural Causes all the Tricks, that he is reported to have plaid. Only let me here observe, that since by his activity, he was so well prepared to Counterfeit the Symptoms of a natural Disease, which in appearance had actually seiz'd him, it would be very hard for the By-standers to discern, betwixt the Fits that were real, and those that were Dissembled. For such an Artist was R. that if it were not for his excessive Sweats, Convulsive Motions, great Strength and dead Fits, I should conclude the whole to be Counterfeit; and I very much suspect from the Persons concerned in the Intrigues, whether the Disease was not procured by malignant Medicaments; for, as there are *Alexipharmicks* to preserve us from the Infections of Diseases that we fear; so there are also Specifick Venoms, that will produce Diseases in us; and the place that R. left, not long before these Fits did seize him, creates no little suspicion of this in me. However, since R. could imitate so well the Symptoms of the Disease, as by comparing them with his Tricks, you may easily discern, this makes it hard for any one to distinguish betwixt a real, and a dissembled Fit: and this will solve the Mystery of his having sometimes many Fits in one Day, sometimes not one in many Days; when they come so thick they might be counterfeit, when more rare, they might be natural. So for his crying at the end of one, *My next Fit returns at such, or such an Hour.* Make sure at the expiration of the Term, he would shew a Fit. R. C. once saw him in a Fit, he trembled and shaked exceedingly, and made the very Seat to shake again: He desired something to Drink, and what his Mother brought him did not please him, he seemed to give her a private Sign what to do, which was supposed she did; for, at her return, she said it came out of such a Bottle; R. took it in his Hand, and without shaking or quivering, he drank it with as steady an Hand as any Man could do. I only relate the Passage, and leave the Reader to make what Inferences from it he pleaseth: Whilst I proceed to give an Account of the several Particulars, taken notice of in the Depositions, that we produced, to argue a Possession: And I shall.

1. Take notice of such, as seems to be the effects of R's Disease, or his Activity; and for the violence in his Fits, that required so many Men to hold him, that is owing to the Convulsions; tho' that also, as you shall hear, hath by some been counterfeited. For the various Noises that he made, and so the two different Voices that seemed to be in him, tho' D. R. hath solved it from the Disease, yet, at School, you hear he could have feign'd them; and not only so, *but by the management of his Tongue made a peculiar Noise, which in a Wood (and the Surey stands among Woods) sounded exceeding loud.* And this is the meaning of his Voice being heard near a Mile. Then for his being taken up, and set upon his Head, his Schoolfellows acquaint you how ready he was at that Sport. 'Tis true *Livesay* saith, *That dancing on his Feet 3 Yards from the Wall of the Barn, he was as soon as one could turn himself, set strait upon his Head, and*

was



was as stiff as a Tree. But this is only Hyperbolic, as you may hear by what follows; yet the Narrator from his Rhodomantading Faculty, improves it: Sometimes, (saith he) the Demoniac in a Fit seemed to hang in the Barn with his Head downwards, and his Heels upwards towards the top thereof, p. 5. Here is a twirl like a pair of Yarmangles indeed. Who saith so besides your self, Mr. C? Not one. And what was the truth of all this? Dugdale the Father and Walmsley, in their Informations before Mr. Bradyl, will instruct you. He hath been taken up and thrown backwards, and set upon his Head with his Back to the Wall, say they. And what a wonder is this, that a knavish Wag should stand on his Head with his Back to the Wall? But these last words Mr. Jolly, for good Reasons, thought fit to be left out of the Depositions.

Let us go on; and for his Galloping on all Four, his Dancing and Vaultings, his Schoolfellows attest to them as Tricks of his Childhood: And as for his Quavering with part of his Legs above Peoples Heads, p. 32. Mr. C. that cannot see two Yards before him, was the only Man that saw it. His Dancing upon his Knees (if so he did) was the effect of his Convulsions; as also his Bouncings in the Chair and Lifting it, and those that held him up, together with it. The Swelling in his Leg, (which they fancied like a Mole) that rose up into his Body, was Symptomatical (as you have heard) of his approaching Fit, as his Foaming was of the Fit near ending; tho' that also might be Counterfeited by Black-Lead, or a little Soap.

All that remains under this Head, is the Solution of his excessive Heaviness and Lightness, which in part may be done, by taking notice of the different Accounts which the several Persons, according as their Fancy wrought, give of it. Some say he weighed but 6, some 30 Pound: Some compare him to a Box full of Feathers: Others you shall find speaking according to their Professions or Trades. Waddington, an Husband-man, speaking of his Heaviness, saith, He was heavier than a Load of Corn. Booth a Carpenter, speaking of his Lightness, saith, That sometimes he was as light as a Chip. Cry-a-mercy Mr. Carpenter, there you hit the Nail oth' head; but what Truth there is in this, I have hinted before. Yet Mr. C. will have the preheminance above all the Informations. And one having Deposed he was as light as a Feather-Bolster, Mr. C. flings off the Bolster, and sticks to the Feather: Nor will that suffice, but he will make him as light, or lighter than a Feather. (Here's a Man can cut a Feather for you!) So again as heavy, or heavier than lead, p. 42. Thus does he scatter Tropes and Figures, as fast as Maids do Flowers in a May Morning. And, what is the meaning of all this? Why, the Truth is, Richard was at some times considerably lighter than at others; that speaking comparatively, he would appear to them wonderfully light: The reason of which, D. R. hath given you; and that this was all, appears from those that seem to speak their Sense more Freely and Modestly. Haworth tells you, He had been one of the Seven to Carry him, at other times he could carry him alone. Hindley thinks him as light as a Child; Hargraves, That he weighed not above a Stone and an half. All which when taken comparatively with respect to the weight he was in, in his dead Fits, may be allowed. And that they humour their Fancy as to his lightness, appears from this; Sellers Deposeth, That lifting at him, he found him to be as light as an Hat, or a Walking-Cane; and yet Dugdale's Uncle join'd with him in his lifting him, as he there tells us. Since therefore there were more Hands upon him than his own, he cannot depose to the Truth of the thing, but to the imagination of his Fancy; and so we must suppose the rest to do: For, Dugdale the Father, being Examined upon this very Point, told us in general, That he was sometimes very light, and that he had seen him lifted up by the Buttons of the Breast: But being asked how long they that lifted him up, held him; Not at all, saith

So Walmsley Swears he took him by his Shoe, he twist his Fore-finger and Thumb, and he could

not think that he weighed 6 Pound, but another at the same time lifted at his Head.

H

he.



he, but they immediately laid him down. The Reverend Mr. *White* lifting an Hat up (to which *R.*'s lightness, was by some resembled) and not holding it the second of a Minute, ask'd *D.* the Father, did they hold him thus long? No saith he, they immediately laid him down again; from which it appeared to us to be a Trick of *R.* who, by giving his Body a Spring, deceived the Peoples Fingers, and made them believe he was wondrous light; whereas, had they held him long enough, to poize him, they might have made a truer Judgment of his weight; For some that were at the *Surey*, as frequent as any of the Deponents, plainly tell me, There was no such extraordinary lightness in him. I will close this Head with giving you an Account, what *Somers*, the counterfeit Demoniack was able to do, and that from *Darrell*, his Instruſters, Writings; for I cannot meet with Dr. *Harshnet*'s Narrative.

And this same *Somers* seemed to have a Swelling between the Flesh and the Skin, which ran along the Body to the bigness of a Mouse, p. 152. Depriving him of all Sense, so as being prickt deep with Pins he would not stir, nor Blood Issue. He would retort his Tongue into his Throat, and foam excessively, p. 100. He was said to be so heavy in his Fits, that 7 were scarce able to carry him, p. 92. He had a Voice in him that seemed contrary to his natural Voice, p. 152. His Arms and Legs were inflexible, and exceeding heavy above Nature, as Iron, p. 157. He cou'd speak with his Mouth wide open, or at other times close shut. He wou'd turn his Face directly backward, his Eyes seeming, as great as Beasts Eyes; his Body doubled, and his Head between his Legs, p. 157. He would cry most hideously like a Bull, Bear, Swine, &c. With many other such like Pranks as these are; and yet all, as you have heard before were counterfeit. In Dr. *Harshnet*'s Book, the manner how he performed these Tricks I find was hinted at; but, wanting the Book, I can say nothing more of them; nor of *R.*'s Tricks neither, when I have desired you to remember, what an arch Youth *R.* was, for thence you may make what Conclusion you think good.

2. I will pass to his Predictions, which in the Depositions relate only to the Minister's Meeting, or their sending him Mony: And both these Messages coming from Mr. *Jolly*, when you call into your Mind the charge of Insincerity, which I have fully proved against him, you will not think much Credit ought to be given to them; or, if they prove any thing, it must be a secret Intelligence, under-hand conveyed to the Demoniack from those that would be thought capable of dispossessing the lurking evil Spirit. But supposing all Things to be fair and right, and that *R.* without any private Hints did foretell what is there related; I see nothing at all miraculous in it, but what any other might have told as well as *R.* Consider but the Persons and their Offices, about *R.* and the Mystery is opened. *Walmſley* swears, That Mr. *Jolly*, sending word by him to the said *R.*'s Father, that the Ministers would be at his House, called *Surey*, on such a Day; the Deponent, going the same Day, he was spoken to with his Errand; the said *R.* declared it before this Deponent mentioned it, as likewise what Ministers wou'd be there. This *Walmſley* lies about half a Mile from the *Surey*, and he went the same Day that Mr. *Jolly* spoke to him; but did no Body go before him? He saith nothing of that; and you must know, that this is a publick House, so that there might be Persons enough to inform *R.* before *Walmſley* came to him; for he doth not say, that he went straight away, but he went the same Day. Besides, this was the House, as I understand, from whence the Ministers had their Ale, after their Fasting-work was over; and, for ought I know, *Walmſley* might now bring the good Leathern Bottle along with him; and if *R.* saw such Ammunition wagging towards him, he might easily guess, who would follow. And as he knew well the Persons that frequented him, so the Substance of the Provision would easily inform him of their Number.

Of the same Nature is the Passage of *Sellers*, who deposeth, That Mr. *Jolly* having given him 5 s. for *R.* D. before this Deponent cou'd come up to the said *R.* D. he cried, There's a Man will bring Mony to Day; and fell a leaping and dancing in the Barn, as a Token of Joy. Now Mr. *Jolly* tells this *Sellers*, when he gave him this Mony, That he expected *R.* would have a Fit about 7 a Clock next morning: Whence it appears, That he had



had been with R. and no doubt had promised to send him some Mony, which it seems he did by this Sellers. Besides, this Sellers was a Person frequently imployed by Mr. Jolly on the same Errand, for so intimately was he acquainted with their pious Bribery, that he told R. C. that at time and times, there had been given by Mr. Jolly, Mr. C. and their Company, the Sum of 20 l. and upwards. It was therefore no hard thing for R. to guess at Sellers's Business. And that Mr. Jolly had hinted to R. that he would send him some Mony, I think may be concluded from Sellers's Depositions; for, having told us, how R. danc'd for Joy of the Mony, he immediately adds, *But after some while, seeming to be displeased at something, he said, Dick, Dick, Thou shalt have Meat enough.* Now what shou'd he be displeased at? The Matter is plain; Mr. Jolly had not sent so much Mony as he expected. In short, here are two Men go to the Surey, with Messages from Mr. Jolly; one, that lives within half a Mile, goes at his leisure, sometime of the same Day; the other goeth the Day after the Message was delivered him, and R. prevents them by telling their Business; but you see there was time enough, for others that might hear of it, to go before and acquaint R. with it; and here we have no such Words of Assurance, as when the Case will bear it, they take care to Insert; such as, p. 6. *It cou'd not be known to any at the Surey by any humane Means, or R. D. could have no Intelligence of it,* p. 63. Intelligence he might have; and they being so conscious of it, that they do not deny it, it is but reasonable for another Person to conclude it.

Other Predictions are mention'd by the Informants, who not being forward to swear (as the rest of their Companions did) may be allowed to stretch a little further than they do; but their Testimonies can have no great force in them: For it was nothing but Truth of which they inform'd. Why did not they swear as well as their Brethren? When I have examined the Testimonies you will find the Reason.

James Abbot of Whitbeck Dyer, leads here the Van; and he Informs, That D. in one of his Fits, said, Abbot, *thou thinkest no body knoweth thee, but I know thee well enough; thou must go into Cheshire and Staffordshire: When, as this Informant saith, he had not so much as such a Design of such a Journey to his remembrance; but accordingly it happened, for this Informant went that Journey soon after.* This Abbot lives about 4 Miles from the Surey, and R. I have proved to be sensible in some of his Fits; now being so near a Neighbour, if he thought no Body knew him, I believe no body else can think so; but R. tells him of a Journey that he was to go, that to his remembrance he had no design of. I am nothing concern'd with his remembrance, for there are a sort of People can forget what they please; but all the Country thereabouts remember very well, that he being imperfect in his Trade of Dying, was ever and anon going to one Gandy of Knowsford in Cheshire, his Uncle, and a Dyer, who was to perfect him in his Trade; and this is the Journey R. tells of. Which both shews that he knew Abbot, and the Circumstances he was in. And now we have a Reason why these People did not swear.

Whalley of Harwood, Informs, That R. in one of his Fits, said, There were Lapidiers (as he called them) a coming, and presently after came a Stone which this Informant took up, and felt it to be very warm. This flinging of Stones from hidden places, is so common a practice with those that pretend Spirits and Apparitions, that it discovers Knavery; and that such it was, this Circumstance will prove. After they had begun this Trade of Lapidiering, as he calls it, when Persons chanc'd to stand out of the Barn, and so perhaps might discern whence the Stones came, they wou'd go to them and tell them, Take heed to your selves, there were Lapidiers came such a time, and you may be knock'd on the Head; pray go into the barn, and so they had liberty to play what Tricks they pleased.

Livesay of Whalley, informs, That he being in Whalley, desired several young Men to go along with him to the Surey (above half a Mile distant;) but they refused. When the Informant came to the Barn, where the said R. D. was, the said R. D. told this Informant, he had desired several Persons to come along with him, but they had deny'd him; naming Ned Dean in particular. Now, I can see nothing strange in all this; Livesay is gadding up and down



Whalley Town to pick up Company to the *Surey*; and may not some one that saw him (for there being a Combination there must be Spies also) step over the Fields to the *Surey*, and acquaint them with it; and particularly, how testy *Ned* had refused him? Tho', from what I have before observed of this *Livesay's* Information, comparing it with *Dugdale* the Father, and *Walmstey's* Information, no great Credit can be given to it: And for that very Reason, I suppose, he did not Swear.

*Grimshaw* of *Clayton*, is the last I shall mention on this Head; and he informs, *That coming to the Surey one Night, he the said R. D. told Mr. John Grimshaw, That he the said Informant Grimshaw was coming, before he came.* And is not this a worthy Informant, that instead of speaking what he knows, begins with informing of what was said to another Man, when he was absent? Yet this is the Trade that *Mr. Jolly* drives with his Informers, as I shall afterwards shew; but such a Trade as invalidates the whole Testimony; for he that hath the Vanity to presume to Inform of things said or done in places where he is absent, cannot justly be Credited, when he relates things that he saith were acted in his Presence. So, that though it was natural enough for such an Idle Lad, to stuff his Pockets usually with Knives, which *Richard* might know of; and to ride, as the Proverb hath it, when he is set on Horseback, (the two following things that he Informs of) none can think me obliged to take farther notice of them, since he is a Hear-say Evidence. Thus have I cleared *R's* Oraculous Faculty, the excellency of which, you have in part understood before from *Mr. Cowel*. Here is another Instance of it, in which you have what relates also to what I have before affirmed concerning *Mr. Sellers*.

This is to Certifie whom it may concern, that these things following, to the best of my remembrance, are True, viz.

That upon some Discourse betwixt *W. Sellers* and me, concerning *R. D. of Surey*, he told me, That at time and times, there had been given to him by *Mr. Jolly*, and *Mr. Carington*, and their Company, the Sum of 20 l. or upwards. And at another time, it was commonly reported, that this same *Dugdale* told in his Fit, (as we called it) that I was hearkning about the Barn, when at the same time I was in my Bed. And at another time, upon some Discourse with the Constable of the Town, one *Dean*, he told that *D.* being afraid of a Warrant from the Justices, begg'd as a favour, that he would be pleas'd to give him Notice of it. For these and many other Reasons, I then did, and now do believe, that the whole Business was a Cheat.

Witnessed by me, Robert Clarke.

It may be objected against this Testimonial, that it is only an Hear-say Evidence, which I am decrying. Right! but the Hear-say is from the very Party concerned, and therefore good against themselves: Besides, such an Opinion had the People of *Richard's* Assertions, that as this Person told me, Had it chanc'd that he had been out of his own Bed and House, his own Wife would not have believed other, but that he had been as *Richard* affirmed, hearkning about the Barn. To such a degree of Infatuation had the Ministers with their *Demonjack*, brought the People.

I have dispatched the Depositions and Informations before the Justices; none now remain but those before *Mr. Jolly*, which I do not think my self obliged to Answer, upon these Accounts.

1. The Narrative layeth no claim unto them; for all that it pretends to, is Matter of Fact, attested by the Oaths of several Credible Persons, before some of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Title Page. Nor do the Subscribing Ministers build their Testimonial on any more. We whose Names are Subscribed, being Ministers of the Gospel, having read or heard the Affidavits and Declarations taken before the &c. do verily believe the truth of them, and that the strange Fits of *R. Dugdale*, were by a Diabolical Power, p. 64. Since therefore they claim no more, I stand obliged to Answer no more. But I have other Reasons, the naming of which will Answer most of what is there related; And they are these.

2. Many.



2. Many of the Persons that were Informers before Mr. Jolly, were either Deponents or Informers before the Justices of the Peace; and had these things been true, why did they not there Attest to them? *Nathaniel Waddington* Swears before the Justices; but he hath afterwards no less than three other heats of Informing before Mr. Jolly. *Dugdale* the Father is brought into the same Noose, but Mr. Jolly had as good have let him alone, for he will betray the Villany of this Contrivance, as you will hear anon.

Now I am Confident that none will think I ought to take the least Notice of these Informations; for had they been true, since the Persons went so far to lend Mr. Jolly an Oath, if they durst have Sworn them, there is no doubt but they would: Since therefore they thought fit to wave them, they must not be displeased if we think fit not to believe them now. And indeed such is the Intrigue between the Composers and the Informers, that when the latter are willing to say something that will not endure the Examination of the Justices into it, It is reserved for the favourable Hearing of Mr. Jolly. Thus, tho' *John Fletcher* had given Information before the Justices at *Darwen*, yet the story of *Jeremy Webster's Knife being length-way in Richard's Mouth*, was kept in reserve for Mr. Jolly's Ear: And supposing the thing to be really true, *Webster's* own words plainly discover a Trick of *L-gerdemain*, I had one, (*viz.* a Knife) saith he, *when I came in, and I think he cannot have got it out of my Pocket*; (by which Words it appears *Richard* had been buile about him) *I think*, saith he, *he cannot*: He suspected it. And this *Webster*, I am told, is neither of that Accuteness or Sobriety, but such a Trick as this might easily be put upon him. As to what the said *Fletcher* pretends to feel like a Dog or a Cat creeping upwards from his Knee towards his Heart, when he was in bed with *Richard*, I take it to be a Dream, if not a Romance: And this too is a Secret reserved for Mr. Jolly's Breast. And so notorious a Fellow is this same *Fletcher* for such pretended Tricks as these, that he is known by the Name of *Boggard Fletcher*. A Boggard is a Bug-bear, or Spirit that Frights one; and at this *Fletcher's* House, in former days, was such a Boggard as this pretended, from which he carried the Name of *Boggard Fletcher*. He was *Richard's* Keeper for some time; by which you may guess what a fine Business they would make of it; for in a Morning he cou'd ask him, How now? How did it appear to thee the last Night? Did it come like the Woman with the High Crown'd Hat and Green Petticoat, &c. From this you may guess at Mr. Jolly's Informants. But what is the meaning that *Fletcher* informs the aforesaid Mr. Jolly, *That when Richard was in a Fit about Five a Clock in the Night, John Hindley prick'd a large Pin in his Feet, and he neither Stirr'd nor Complained at all*. For the Pin, and its not hurting *Richard*, it hath nothing strange in it, for it was prick'd into that Swelling which was Symptomatical of the Fit's approaching; and *Feilding* tells you, *that the Creature* (for so he calls this Tumour) *did arise under Richard's Skin, as he doth verily believe*. And a Pin prick'd in such a Swelling betwixt the Skin and Flesh, could not reach to touch a Nerve or Fibre, and therefore could not be painful. But *Hindley* himself in the very next following Information, tells us it was Eight of the Clock. I pardon the mistake of Time betwixt them, desiring the Reader only to observe, that the Circumstances of several Passages, had through the distance of time, slipp'd out of the Informant's Memory, as from this Instance appears; so that we ought not to believe them in all the Passages, where the Circumstantials chiefly make the Wonder.

3. Many of these Informers, give an account of Things that were said or done, when they were in different and distant Places; and therefore speaking only by hear-say, can never be allowed for good Evidences. This *Waddington*, tho' he had been on his Oath before, comes again to Inform Mr. Jolly, *of what pass'd at the Surey, when he was but going thither*; and tells of a Person, who took with her, Bisket and Gold, on purpose to try, whether R. could discover it; but he takes care to conceal both these Persons Names, for fear, lest on enquiry, we should discover his Collusions. But from his last Instance, we may infer what Truth is in the other, p. 63. *John Feilding Foyner*, related



related (saith he) in the hearing of the said Waddington, and others, That he the said John Feilding, was working at his Calling, above thirty Miles distant from the Surey; and that R. D. in one of his Fits said, John Feilding is this Day at such a place working; and further, named that Piece of Work, which he had in Hand at that Time. The said J. F. coming over to see his Relations, several Persons, who had heard R. D. speak these Words, and relate such strange Circumstances, came to the said J. F. to know whether it were true; this he acknowledged, being much surpriz'd at the Relation.

Here is an Information from a double Hear-say; People tell Feilding, and F. tells Waddington. But what Credit is to be given to this? We have a saying, He that will Steal, will Lye; and this same J. F. stole twelve Trees or thereabouts, out of Colonel Nowell's Wood, for one of which being proved upon him, he paid 5 l. the others being remitted him at the Intercession of his Friends. Such as these are Mr. Jolly's Witnesses, and such I suppose the Persons from whom Waddington hath his hear-say.

Another Instance you have in Grace Whalley, and her slipping of the Hippings unaccountably (saith the Worder of her Testimony, that it might look like a Prank of Madam Ishcol's) at which time many Persons came running out of the Barn, upon some words R. D. spoke at the same time in a Fit, viz. Sister Ekel, put the hindermost into the Water, p. 62. What shou'd these People run out of the Barn for? These Hippings (as they call them) are not within the sight of it, so that they could not expect to see her on the Water. But the Matter is thus, If none of the Company that was with her, left her in the Water, and ran before to tell it at the Surey, which is probable enough; yet these very Hippings are just by Fletcher's the Boggards House, one of R.'s Keepers; and who can doubt, but that some of the Family would take care that such an Accident should immediately be carried to R. at the Surey? After all it is an hear-say Evidence; for she confesseth her self in the Water, when the Words are pretended to be spoken at the Surey. Thus Mr. Jolly and his little Officer pick up what they can; and provided any Body will Inform, they never regard how incapable they are of making such an Information; nay, to save them the Labour of telling their own Story; they draw (as you shall hear) their Informations for them, and provided they will but set their Mark unto it, to sign it, they do not so much as trouble themselves either to read it, or the Informers to hear it.

Smalley is another of this Tribe, he hath three Whets of Informing, and the last of them is, of what was said at the Surey, when he himself was no nearer it than Whalley, viz. That R. D. said, That Smalley was taking Liquor at the Abby, and he takes it freely, it costs him nothing, p. 61. I know 'tis added, that this he said to Tho. Dugdale, as he also Testifieth. But where doth he Testify it? Not in the Book, I am sure of it. And this is the Man that Informs, That R.'s Shoos, when they were fast buckled to his Feet, did fly 6 Yards, and hit the Skell boos in the Barn with great force. If this be true, Goodman Smalley, you either examined whether R.'s Shoos were buckled, or you did not? If you did, you were Conscious and Confederate to the Trick; for Knaves, when they would impose Fallacies on the By-standers, suborn Witnesses beforehand, and such here you must be. If you did not, you Inform of a Thing you did not know, viz. That his Shoos were fast buckled, whereas not examining them, you cannot tell, whether they were so or no. And then tell Mr. Jolly from me, tho' it should really be in it self true; yet he took an Information, which in you was a Lye. Such a goodly director of Consciences is Mr. Jolly's Congregation blest with. Tho' the Thing it self, (was it true) may be the effect, either of R.'s Swelling, which begun in his Feet, or his Knavery; and had you told us in what place of the Barn R. then lay; tis possible, (for I have Measured it, and you have little room to turn your self in) that I might have discovered the falsity. To put an end to this Business of hear-say Informing, I shall only say, That I have heard of Swearing through an Inch Board, but that is pretty modest in Comparison of informing at about a quarter, half a Mile, or a Miles distance, as Mr. Jolly's Friends are not scrupulous for his sake to do. The next Head I shall quietly dispatch, which is,



4. That some of these Informations, contain Things that are notoriously false; for *Haworth* informs, p. 61. That *R. D.* did threaten *Rob. Turner* to send his Sister (as he called his Spirit) to give him a Fall at such a Fields end, which fell out accordingly; so that it set all the Company a trembling. But to hear that this is a notorious Lye, is enough to set any honest Man a trembling; yet such it is, for I have a Letter sent on purpose to let me know, that *Rob. Turner* protests, that no such thing did ever happen to him, but that the Story is all over false; yet *Mr. Jolly* is not ashamed to publish such as these, and (if I mistake not in my Guess) to word and fashion them also. Of the same nature I take *Waddington's* Information, of the Person with Guineas in her Pocket, (which *Rich.* offers to play at Cards with her for,) to be; for I believe I have found out the Person, and if it be the same, the Story is false; but since *Waddington* names her not, I cannot be positive of it, and therefore must be silent in it. Only let me remark, That such Evidences as these, are like dead Flies to the Apothecaries Ointment, and will make the Narrative stink in the Nostrils of all that read it: Especially, when I shall

5. Have manifested the very pretence on which these Informations proceed, to be feigned and untrue. *Mr. Jolly* pretends, That they were voluntarily offered, and declared unto him the said *Mr. Tho. Jolly*, and others of sufficient Credit, and Cautionness, p. 59. With what voluntariness were they offered, what Caution was used, and therefore what Credit is to be given to them, the Reader may learn from this following Instance. *Mr. John Jolly*, the old Mans Deacon, as they call him, (and an officious Minister he was in this piece of Collusion,) came to this *Dugdale's* Father and Mother, and Sisters, who have sign'd a joint Information, p. 62. And offer'd them a Paper to sign, which contained only (as he told them) the way or manner how their Son, or Brother, was at first posselt; and this they foolishly sign'd without so much as ever hearing it read: And when I, in the presence of the Reverend *Mr. White*, confronted the *Dugdales* as to some Things, they asserted from this very Information, they, with Tears, lamented their being ensnared to sign it, and declared some of the Contents, I then read to them, to be false; adding, That *John* the Deacon made it his Business to go up and down the Country, to pick up what Stories he cou'd from any Body that would inform about the Possession of *R. Dugdale*. And hence is the Gallymaufry of idle and lying Stories, that stuff up *Mr. Jolly's* Informations. From what is here related, I observe three Things:

1. That these Informations of *Mr. Jolly's*, at least some of them were sent to the several Persons ready penn'd by *Mr. Jolly*, or his Deacon (for tho' *Mr. Jolly* loves not the superiority of a Bishop, yet he himself would be some Body, and would have a Deacon) and sometimes sign'd by them unheard, unread.
2. That it was *Mr. John Jolly* the Deacon, not *Mr. Thomas* the Rabbi, to whom, some at least of these Informations were given, and before whom they were sign'd.
3. That some of them contain Matters of Untruth, and which the Informers not having heard them read, knew nothing of; and therefore will not attest, much less swear unto them. Yet, in opposition to these 3 Things, hear how *Mr. Jolly* prefaceth them.

*The Information of divers credible Persons, which were, and are ready to give in, upon Oath before the said Justices of the Peace, or others, at the Places aforesaid, or elsewhere if desired thereunto, as they voluntarily offer'd, and declared unto Tho. Jolly and others, of sufficient Credit and Cautionness.*

I Had these Reasons to pass by the Informations pretended to be given to *Mr. Jolly*; and sufficient ones I think they be. But whilst I am thus Apologizing for my not replying to them, I find that I have answered most, if not all that is material in them. Nay, I believe, there is scarce one Passage, even in these loose Informations to *Mr. Jolly*, but what may be reduced to some of the Heads, contained in the Depositions and Informations before the Justices, where it will meet with its proper Solution, either



ther from Combination, Art, or the Disease. I will therefore close up all with another Observation of the Witnesses in general, as well as Mr. Jolly's Informers in particular, who will be found as ready to conceal, what wou'd lessen the glory of the Informations that they give, as they are forward to admit of any thing that will magnify them; of which let *Fletcher* be an Instance; who informs, *That one time he found him, viz. Rich. in the River of Calder, up to the Neck in Water, crying out, and saying, Wilt thou drown me? Wilt thou drown me? &c. Whereupon this Infermant with the help of others, by a Rope drew him out of the Water.* *Fletcher* in these words would insinuate, as if he was the great Instrument of finding him in the River, and helping him out; whereas the whole passage is an instance of R's Cunning and Knavery, and is thus: Sir *Ralph Ashton* of *Middleton*, paying a Visit to Sir *Edmund Ashton* of *Whalley*; some of the Gentlemen went along with the Butler to the *Surey* to see R. When they came there, he pretends to fall upon them, and roar out against them, saying, they had been abusing him in the Buttery at the Abby; but they standing up to him, when he found that wou'd not do, he slips through the lower part of the Barn, and runs into the River, as *Fletcher* saith; his Parents cry out, Their Child would be drown'd, their Child would be drown'd, and call for help; but he threatens to drown any one that came into the Water to him, which so frightened the People, that for a long time, they durst not go near him to fetch him out; till his Courage being at length cooled, some of them with a Rope (for they were not yet quite rid of their fear of him) got him out, and perhaps *Fletcher* might be one of them that lent a hand; but saith my Author, who was present from the beginning to the ending of the Freak, he came out as tamely as a Man cou'd wish; and the Chilness of the Water, did I suppose, throw him into what *Fletcher* is taught to call, *a dumb Fit, which began in the Water.* But wou'd you know the Reason of this extravagant Whim; 'tis imagined, that he hereby thought to have fetch'd Sir *Ralph Ashton*, with the Gentlemen and Ladies from the Abby, to have shew'd them some Feats of his Skill, and have got a spell of Mony for his Pains; but this chanc'd to fall out near Dinner time, and they wou'd not leave that for his Sport.

I will add another Instance of the Partial Temper of the Witnesses, from my own Knowledge. When I had required *Dugdale* the Mother, to say the Lord's Prayer, that I might make Experiment on Mr. C's faculty of speaking Truth, I sent to *M. S.* the next Door Neighbour, (but one of Mr. Jolly's Congregation) who was appeal'd to as a Witness, that at Mr. C's Instance, she bid say the Lord's Prayer, to know the truth of it. Her Answer was, That *R. D.* said, his Mother could not say the Lord's Prayer; This was but an odd Answer for one to make that was present when she said it, as this *M. S.* was. I understood her meaning, but thought she should not evade it so. I therefore sent again and desired her to come in, and hear the Old Woman say the Lord's Prayer, which she absolutely refused; whence I could not but conclude, that she knew full well, the Old Woman could say the Lord's Prayer, and would not be a Witness against the Party.

I have Examined the Narrative in all its parts, and can find nothing in our *Surey* Spark, from whence we may conclude him a *Demoniack*; but to Gratifie the Ministers, I will suppose he was so. And shew,

2. That he found no Benefit by all their Conferences, Sermons, Prayers and Fastings; and if so, tho' what I have hitherto said, should be thought by any of little or no weight; yet this I hope, will something abate the teeming Opinions of their most zealous Bigots with respect to the Ministers endeavours, for we shall find the *Demoniack* a true Prophet on the account, p. 23. *Promissum non Factum.* They were not able to perform, what they had promised. The Narrative tells, p. 50. On March 24. 1688. Was another Fast-day for him. Pray Mr. C. where? for *Rich.* was that very Day, abroad at *Hinseild*, as his Father, Mother and Sisters are said to inform Mr. Jolly, p. 62. Besides, *Dug.* the Father in his Information before Mr. *Bradyll*, saith, *That after you all had left him, he had several Fits.* You had left him, and yet you will make the World believe



believe that you were Fasting for him. I fear this is another of your pious Frauds, or sanctified Lies; and how did you leave him? Doth not *Wainley*, expressly in his Information before Mr. *Bradyll* say, *That notwithstanding Mr. Jolly, and you Mr. C. and others preached and prayed by Rich. yet he could not conceive but his Fits continued still as violent as before, even the last Fit?* And doth this look like the casting out of the Devil. Mr. C. it behoves you to consider what *Peter* said to *Ananias*, *Why hath Satan fill'd thy Heart to Lie to the Holy Ghost*, Acts 5. 3. And you and the rest of the Ministers, what he said unto his Wife, v. 9. *How is it that you have agreed together to Tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* For do you not plainly yourselves confess this your Impotency, when you complain, p. 26. *That R. dealt unworthily with the Ministers, in signifying behind their Backs either by Letter, or otherwise, that he got no good by them, but grew weary of their Pains - And again, p. 49 That the Ministers suspected that the success of their endeavours were hindered by their little Sense, or improvement of this sad Judgment, &c.* Which are Words fully significative of the little Good you did; And so sensible were you of it, that you call on the Physician for his assistance, p. 48 who having, as I suppose, as little Insight in that Mystery, as poor *Crabtree* had, tho' not so much Sincerity, is made to decline the Undertaking, *beholding that his Affliction was not mainly any Bodily Distemper.* Pray Mr. C. who was this Dr. Was it not Mr. *Jolly's* own Son, that must needs be a Tool to his Father and you? And tho' he could not, yet we shall quickly hear of another Physician, that did cure him. Nay, you were reduced to such a Despondency of restoring him, *That some of you fear'd very much, R. being finally and totally given up to Satan*, p. 49. And had not Dr. *Chew* been a more effectual Exorcist than any of you were, so well we know your Charity, that the coming off with a Fail, would have made you, I believe, given up in your Judgment both Soul and Body, to the Hands that you then fancied, they were in. And being, as I have said, conscious to your selves of your own Insufficiency, that you may have some pretence to cover it, You then suspect Witchcraft, p. 48, 49. and to try them, put them upon some Duties, and particularly upon Prayer, p. 49 where, to carry on your own superstitious and ambitious Ends, you stick not shamefully to bely them, as I before have said. But why do you conceal your Process in this matter? Were not R.'s Sister, and his Uncle, call'd to John Holkers of the Read, one of Mr. *Jolly's* Congregation, that they might be searched for Witches? 'Tis true they return'd unsearched, for it was pretended that Mr. *Jolly* was not come; tho' some that were there thought they heard him in the next Room: And no doubt but he had Reasons why he did not appear. Is not all this Conviction from your selves, that you did him no Good? Yea further, do you not tell us, that on Feb. 20 was a Fast-day for him at the Surey. The Ministers met with many great Discouragement, R.'s Father betraying much Disingenuity, and his Landlord, Sir E. A. disapproving the continuance of such Meetings at the Surey, because of the harm done to his Hedges by such a confluence of People; but R.'s Deportment was more encouraging, &c. p. 50. I might ask what was the Disingenuity that *Dugdale* the Father betray'd? Any one may see it, he found you did his Son no good, and so was weary of you; but his Sons Deportment was more encouraging. Very encouraging indeed! for he writ a Letter, which you will hear of afterwards, to this Sir Ed. *Ashton*, to let him know that these Ministers did him no good, and desires him to shut up the Surey Barn; yet the harm to his Hedges is the Reason here pretended; such is the ingenuity of the Editors. And this was the last Day that they met about him, as from this Date, in the Narrative, compared with *Dugdale* the Father's Information to Mr. *Bradyll* will evidently appear. Yet the Narrator hath the Impudence to pretend another Fast-day for him, on March 24 1688. *Which was turned unto them from Sorrow into Joy, and from Mourning into a Good Day.*

I have before shewed this to be inconsistent with the Father's Information, his Mother's, Sister's, and I may add his own Words; for he avows he knows nothing of it. But the Matter is thus; When the Ministers, despairing of Success, had left him, Sir Ed. *Ashton*, Col. *Nowel*. and Mr. *Jay*, then Vicar of *Whalley*, intreated Dr. *Chew* to undertake his Cure; he was not over forward, because he had been dirtily serv'd by his Friends before, who in the beginning of his Distemper, did make use of him, but having another Game to play, did not give him the Physick that he sent him; tho' the Narrative p. 3. falsely tells you, *That finding Physick would nothing avail him, he gave him over, not undertaking* him



him any further. And again, when they saw him Cured, *that he was to Purge away the evil Humours, and took Physick from the said Doctor, which he had in vain made use of at the first, p. 51.* Whereas, the truth is, they never gave him the Physick, as you will hear from the Doctor himself immediately. However, at the instance of the aforesaid Gentlemen, he was prevailed with to undertake his Cure; and he gave him Physick on *March 25*, the day after his last Fit, which had the desired Effect upon him, with other Methods that he used. Now, when the Dissenters saw that he was Cured, out of the vain Ambition of being thought to have cast out a Devil, they pretend a day of Fasting for him, the day before the Doctor gave him his Physick, and would gladly have the World believe, that that was the Effect of their Prayers, which was wholly owing to Dr. Chew's Physick: But before they Publish this unto the World, they wisely took care to see Sir *E. A. Col. Nowel*, and Mr. *Jay* in their Graves; for had all these Gentlemen been Alive, as the Narrative hath slept 7 Years, so I believe it would have slept on to Eternity. But Dr. Chew is yet Alive to confound their wicked Pretences, and contradict their false Assertions, and hath Signed this Paper in order to it.

March 21. 1696

**I** Edward Chew, Physician, who was addressed to, to prescribe Physick to *Rich. Dugdale*, Son to *Tho. Dugdale* of the *Surey*, do Certifie, That some time after the said R. D. had been in the Hands of Mr. *Folly* and the Ministers, meeting with *Tho. Dugdale*, he desired me to take back the Physick I had given his Son, for that he had not taken it: And being desired to prescribe him Physick at the instance of Sir *Edm. Ashton*, Col. *Nowel*, and Mr. *Jay*, after the Ministers had left him; Mr. *Hammond* meeting with me, asked me, if I were to give *Rich. Dugdale* any Physick? I told him I was. Pray see him take it (saith he) and let it not be thrown away as the other was. I followed his Advice, and Administered him Physick at *Whalley*, *March 25*, 1690. which I thank God, had good Success, for that afterwards observing my Directions, he never since had any more Fits.

Witness my Hand, Edward Chew.

After I have taken Notice of the false Reports, whereby the Narrative as you have heard, abused Dr. Chew, as if he had given him Physick in vain, and despaired of Curing of him; I shall close this Head, and leave the World to judge, who it was that cast the Devil out of R. D. the Dissenting Ministers, or Dr. Chew.

Nothing now remains in the Narrative, Depositions, or Informations, but what will contribute to lay open the Secret of that Combination, which we are told should never be discovered, whilst the World endured. Not too fast Gentlemen! You have the most Plots, and worst luck in Plotting that ever Men had, for you generally are discovered: And, for ought I know, I may have as good a Talent at disclosing Secrets, as our Demoniack himself had; at least, I will try my Skill, and if I miscarry, I hope the Dissenters will pardon me, since my Conclusions are only the Inferences of a Man, and not the Informations of their Friend R. Devil. Therefore,

4. I shall endeavour to discover this Combination, and the Original of it. The Villany is so close and secret, that the Authors presume that it could never be discovered, whilst the World endured. But there are Spurious Brats, whose very Features betray the Adulterous Stealth of their concealed Fathers. And since the Party is well known, who make it a common Practice to carry on pretended Possessions, by secret and under-hand Combinations; I need no more than to enquire if they have not been tampering here, and made our Dissenting Ministers (who are the constant Tools of Popery) the hopeful Agents of managing the Intrigue. The Word joyn'd with the profess'd Combination, viz. Obsession, being a Popish Word; and by them distinguished from Possession, directs us where to inquire for the Contrivers of it. For tho' our Dissenters, you see, have Ambition enough to contend with the Papists for the glorious Prerogative of casting out Devils, and are as superstitious as they are in that Point; and (as may appear by the Instances of *Darrel* in the Preface, and their own Practices in the Narrative) as forward too (so mightily do they admire and imitate the Popish Politicks) to carry on the Interest of the Old Cause by pious Frauds and Forgeries; yet, I think, they were here defrauded of the Glory of contriving the Plot of the Comedy, and were



were only *poor, Diminutive, underling Slaves*, to a more witty Faction. I must excuse them from being the Original Authors of the Combination, because I find, they had not Learning enough to answer these little Scraps of Latin and Greek, that are pickt up, out of Lilly's and Camden's Grammars; for I am well assured, had they made but one Reply, they had baffled the Devil; but being conscious of their own Parts, they acted wisely in what they did; for we should be very unjust, should we expect them to talk Latin or Greek, that (if we may guess from what we meet with in the Narrative) seem to know very little of either. Other Arguments will appear, when I come to treat of their superstitious Credulity, to satisfy the World that they were only those *diminutive, underling Slaves, in the Force*, that I suppose them to be. That another Party were their Masters, I am induced to believe, from these Reasons,

1. Dugdale the Father, had been a Papist; and our Demoniack with his Sisters, had been *Papishly brought up*, as the Narrative tells you, p. 1. tho' they were now professed Protestants *Yet they lead*, saith the Narrative, *Prophane Lives*, ibid. How easy were such Persons as these (at the time when Popery had ascended the Throne, and was contending for the Supremacy over the whole Kingdom) to be prevailed with, not only to return to their relinquished Faith, but to atone for their perfidious Desertion of it, by assisting what they could in promoting its future Interest? R. as you have heard, was every way qualified for this; and what Assistance he might expect from his Friends, you may learn from the Ingenious D. B. better, who was at the Surey to see him: His Words are these; *When I came to the House I found a very poor, and indigent Family, but more than ordinary, impudent and cunning; so that after some Discourse with them, I lockt upon them, as pickt out for carrying on the Design: As for what related to the Possessed, I found my Expectations very much disappointed, for instead of finding the Family troubled or sorry, for so heavy a Judgment (had it been true) I discovered an absolute Combination among them to carry on the Design, by helping the Lad out when he was at a loss in his Discourse, and his Mother was very angry with me when I told her he was not Possessed, asking me, in a great Passion, Whether I came to take their Lives or no?*

2. His speaking Latin and Greek is a known Device, which the Papists make use of in Persons whom they pretend to be Possessed; and tho' our Dissenters are their constant Apes in such Juggles as these are; yet I shall acquit them and the Devil too, from having any Hand in this Matter. I will first acquit the Devil, for I take him to have both a better Memory, and better Judgment in Latin, and Greek, than is Manifested here. Mr. Waddington brings in the Devil speaking thus, p. 23. *Principiis obsta sero, Immedicabile vulnus, quum mala per Longas invaluere moras, Ense recidendum, est ne pars sincera trahatur*. Now, with Submission to the Editors, we conceive that the Devil would have remembered the Flights of his Heathen Prophets a little better, than to make such a Gallimaufry of them, as here is; or be so forgetful, as to insert a Pentameter Verse between the immediate Connexion of two Hexameters; whether the mistake was in R. or his Instructions, I know not; but I cannot think the Devil Guilty of it, he knew well enough the Verses ran thus:

*Principiis obsta, sero Medicina pratur,*

And again — *Immedicabile vulnus,*

*Cum mala per Longas invaluere moras.*

*Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

Then what is the Latin that he speaks? p. 13. *Abi in malam, rem* — *Τὸ πονηρὸν ὄψιν, &c.* He is beholden to Lilly's Latin, and Camden's Greek Grammar for what we there meet with; and this is such School-boys Jargon, as unbecomes the Learning of a Devil. And indeed, we shall acquit him, when we read the Commission that he acted by, which we are told, was contained in these Words, *ὁ Θεὸς 600, εὐδὲν θήτε: ἐν πτωχῷ αὐτῶν*. I shall speak to the Commission hereafter: All at present, I say, is, I am content to forfeit the Hand I writ with, if there be one Man in the whole World that is a Scholar (provided he be not an Enthusiastical Dissenter) that will subscribe his belief. That the Devil had any thing to do in it: For besides the Phrase which is all over Barbarous, and the Word *πτωχῶς* which never signifieth Hell, but as Etymologists would have told them, a sweet Stream, which Men and Beasts may drink of, *πτωχῶς, πρὸς τὸ πίπεν, ἢ τὸ πῶσιν ὃς ὡρεῖται*. I challenge the World to produce one Instance besides this, where the Numerical Quota of 600 in Greek, was ever Signed with Arabian Cyphers, as is here done, *ὁ Θεὸς 600, &c.* The



Devil is not such a Dunce, but he understands how to Sign 600 in Greek, and knows well enough that a single X expresth it. But I wonder that the Learned Academick Mr. *Frankland*, and Mr. *Sagar*, the so much commended Pædagogue, (out of Ignorance am I to say, or Negligence) suffer such a palpable piece of Knavery, and Nonsense to appear in the World under the Approbation and License, of their Names.

How doth over much Zeal for a Party blind Mens Eyes, and make Men of Parts such Ideots, that they cannot discern what all the World must see, a Forgery from Reality? And since I have acquitted the Devil from having any Hand in counterfeiting this Commission, the same Instance will clear the Dissenters too from this piece of Forgery; for I find they did not understand the meaning of the Commission, and therefore I conclude they did not make it; the Number 600, they take to refer to the whole Number of Days that were to pass betwixt R.'s first Trouble. and the time when the Lord would plunge him in the Lake of Burning, p. 34. But tho' the number of Days betwixt July 25. 1688. and March 25. 1690. came near to the Number 600, yet there are about 8 Days over the Number 600, and the Devil would scarce have been so kind, as to have spared him 8 Days after the Commission was expired.

Again, the Dissenters had left off Praying with Richard, some Weeks before the Commission was expired, so that they did not then take this to be the meaning of the Commission, for if they had, they would have waited three Weeks or a Month longer, to have seen the issue of the Matter. These thoughts make me suppose them innocent, as to the contriving of the Commission, and the Greek it was writ in; as for the meaning of it, I shall give it them, when I come to let them see into what Tools they have been made by a more Cunning Party. There are other Considerations that must oblige us to quit the Dissenters from teaching him to speak Latin, such as their Confession (which is the only piece of Ingenuity that I find in the Book) that he sometimes spoke words in a Language that was either Foreign, or unknown to them all then there, p. 9. So in the Paper containing the Commission, was written, say they, much Greek, and other Letters and Characters, which none then there understood, p. 34. And this their confessed Ignorance, plainly pleads for their Innocence; for no one can fancy, that they should either teach him to speak or write things above their own Skill: Besides, had they taught him to speak, they would have known what to have Answer'd, as others you shall afterwards hear, did. Above all, the Latin it self hath such scornful Reflections on them, that they would never be the Authors of it. *Abi in Malam rem. Quid mihi tecum? rerum tuarum Satagis.* Τὴς πλὴν περ γυνοσθῶνς ἐδὲν κενώ πρεν ἄλλο, p. 13. Curse on thee! What dost thou concern thy self with me for? Nothing is more light and vain, than this your Pragmaticalness. And what Mr. *Waddington* mentions, is of the same Impression. *Promissum non Factum*, p. 23. You promised to cast out the Devil, but you cannot. *Principiis obsta, sero, &c.* You should have engaged him to your own Interest, before we had secured him, if you would have made any good use of him. All plainly acquit the Dissenting Ministers from having a hand in this piece of Learning. Who then must be accessory to the Intrigue? Who but they, that having taught him his Lesson, knew how to talk to him? What Questions he was able to Answer, and how far they might venture to Discourse him; and who these were, the Narrative will inform us, p. 21. Seven Romanists, whereof two at least seemed Priests, did one Midnight undertake Richard in his Fit, wherein Satan and some of the Seven did long talk to one another in a Language unknown to the other By-standers. What do you think of this, Reader? Do we need to enquire any further whence R. had his Latin; or how it came to be stult with such cutting Reproaches on the Dissenters? And 'tis worth your observing, how pleasant the Demoniack is, when with his Latin and Greek he had Baffl'd poor Mr. C. for this plainly discovers the Roguery: And yet the Knave, though he pretends to be in a Fit, cannot forbear Laughing at his Victory. He spoke (saith the Narrative) much to the Minister, much in the abovesaid Foreign, or Forged Lingua, at the end of which, he cried Carlisle, Carlisle, Dost thou Understand me? Construe me this, and tell me in English, what I now spoke. Now Carlisle, where's thy Learning? p. 9. Upon which, by a chuckling grunting Noise inwardly (he would gladly have smothered you see his Laughter, but he could not,

for



for it goes on) And the horrid fleering Grin of his Countenance, he seemed to Laugh Vehemently at the Minister; adding, Carlisle, Now I have puzzled all thy Scholarship. And so Wounding to Mr. C. was this Ridicule of the Demoniack's, that he cannot forbear expressing his Relentment of it, and therefore Expostulates, *Am I in a condition to be Laugh'd at by thee? &c.* p. 9. So again, when he had Vomited the Commission, and the Minister asked, *Where hadst thou this which thou callest thy Commission?* He answer'd, *Read it, if thou wilt know, for thou art like to know no more of me, but what thou findest there; What, canst thou not understand it? I think I have given thee something to Study on.* Upon which (saith the Narrative) he very scornfully Vapour'd by insulting Words, Gestures and wild Pranks, p. 31, 32. So pleasant doth R. make himself with Mr. C's Weakness. But this Diversion of R. doth sufficiently intimate, that he knew what he did; for tho' (to carry on the Design) he did pretend that he understood nothing of Latin when he was out of his F't, yet that was false; for in a Letter that he writ to Sir Edm. Ashton, when he had a mind to be rid of the Ministers, there were pieces of Latin which overthrew his Pretence, and discovers his Knavery.

And since I have fairly acquitted both the Devil and Dissenting Ministers from being his Schoolmasters who must instruct him then, but those other Persons that came frequently to Visit him? For as soon as the Demoniack had found out Mr. C's blind Side, and that he refused to talk Latin with him, to which he Challenged him, Aug. 13. 1689. The next thing we hear of is the Priest's talking with him in an unknown Language, as we are told in the Discourse on Aug. 14. 1689, p. 21. Where it is further said, *That they of the Surey seem'd sometimes willing, as the Romanists were desirous, to resign R. to the Charge of the Romish P. rejecting the Ministers.* Again, we are told, *That three others did likewise offer at relieving R. at three several times, and in three several ways,* lb. And yet more plainly, p. 49. where it is said, *That there were Reports of their Corresponding with P. and H. P. Priests;* which tho' they there deny, yet I shall afterwards make Proof of. And this Correspondence tells us openly enough, from whom R. had his Latin, and into what Tools the Ministers were made by P. Priests.

3. Another Argument that may perswade us, that the P. Priests were at the bottom of this Intrigue, are the different Sexes and various Relations that these Spirits stand in one to another, which is all over Popery. The different Sexes are nothing else, but the *Incubi* and *Succubi* Devils, which not only their Exorcists, but their Schoolmen Treat of. The Popish Exorcists give a remarkable Instance of this at the Council of *Constance*; that Council which contrary to the safe Conduct given by the Emperor, Burnt *John Huss*, and afterwards, *Jerom of Prague*. At that goodly Council as *Nidu* tells you, *Per. de Malef. decept. c. 9.*

*Fuit fama communis virorum fide dignorum, eo tempore quo Constantiense Concilium Generale celebrabatur; in quo, hoc est, in Civitate ipsa Constantiensi, quod verecundum est dictu, propter Principum secularium & mechanicorum presentiam: Incredibilis Meretricum multitudo aderat. Eodem inquam tempore in eadem Diocesi prope opidum in Minterbaur in campi latitudine, quaedam, ut videbatur femina pulcherrima secundum Corporis pulchritudinem, cursori cuidam obviam, in ipso itinere. Quæ cum virum istum, Deum timentem, ad opus nefarii concubitus invitaret; facinus horruit, Dei proteclis adjutori, cumq; simplici animo cursor unde Fœmina veniret ab ea quæisset, respondit, de Constantiensi venio Concilio. Et aperta quam in latere portabat crumena, subintulit, Ecce has omnes pecunias in præfato loco, Corporis mei mercede conquisi, & hoc dicto, velut Fumus protinus evanuit. Et quod Succubus fuerit spurcissimis verbis, & fuga respondit.*

There were an incredible number of Harlots, and amongst them a famous Succubus — His words are, At the same time, in the same Diocess, near a Town in *Minterbaur* in the open Field, a certain Person that seem'd to be an handsome Woman, as to the Beauty and shape of her Body, met a Traveller as he was upon his Journey, and tempted him to unclean forbidden Pleasures, which he, by the Grace of God, resisted, and inquired whence she came? She answer'd, That she came from the Council of *Constance*; and opening a Purse, which she carried at her side. She added, See, I have got all this Money at the aforesaid Council, by the use of my Body. And as soon as she had said so, she Vanished away in Smoak, and declared herself to be a Succubus by her filthy Words and foul Flight.

Hence



Hence it is, that *Apollyon* makes use of his Sister *Ishcol*, who perhaps had a mind to play the Succubus with some of the Sparks that frequented the *Surey*; for the Neighbourhood affirm, that there was never such Whoring heard of, as whilst the Ministers kept up these Meetings, they scarce being able to go into the Fields, but they found Men and Women Trading almost under every Hedge. Then for his Brother *Lampas*, and his Cousin *Melampus*, p. 37. this also comes out of the Popish Forge, for they suppose Devils to be ranged into several Orders, under the Chieftains of their several Vices, as Pride, Luxury, &c. And as these Vices have an Affinity to one another, so the Devils must be supposed to stand in the same Relation. Thus Luxury and Venery are near akin one to another; and therefore the Devils of these Orders are Allied also. Thus *Apollyon* and his Brother *Lampas*, belonged to *Beelzebub*; and had Mr. C. further enquired who was his Cousin *Melampus*'s Chieftain, the Order would have discovered the reason of the Relation. That these Names were given by some concealed Persons, I am induced to believe from these Reasons.

1. Mr. C. had not learn'd the Language of his Collocutor's old Heavenly Country, and therefore could not Name the Female Sprite *Ishcol*, for that is an *Hebrew* Name. Then Secondly, The Devil he tells us, had forgot that Language, and for that reason could not impose that Name. I know Mr. C. in this doth contradict himself; yet I can help him out here, for the Devil hath not so quite forgot all his *Hebrew*, as to give the Appellation of *Ishcol*, (which is *Totus Vir*, *איש כל*, a Man all over) to the Female Sex. The gross Ignorance that is here again discover'd acquits the Devil; and since I have Acquitted Mr. C. you may guess where to lay it.

4. That which will absolutely confirm the Conjecture made, is what follows; When *Rich.* began to be weary of the Ministers, he writ a Letter to Sir *Edm. Ashmole*, telling him, that the Ministers did him no Good, &c. — But it was so ill Writ, that they could not Read it. Whereupon, an Ingenious Neighbour went to the *Surey* with it, and after some time, brought R. to acknowledge the Writing of it, and got him (as you will find) to read it. Amongst other Discourse, he tells his Parents, that he had Money in his Hands to be employ'd for the use of their Son, by engaging some Eminent Physician to undertake him: The Mother replied, That Doctors could do him no Good. He enquires then who would: Since R. Writ to Sir *Edm.* That these Men, viz. the Dissenters, must do him no good. Observe that odd Expression, *Must do him no good*; and the Church of *England* Divines look'd upon his Distemper to be Natural: At length, she names three Popish Priests to him, whom R. in some of his Fits, had hinted to be the Persons that might help him. This is a pretty good hint, and perhaps will unfold the Mystery of that Combination; which we are told, *Should never be discovered, as long as the World endured*. I believe we have already seen further into it, than the Contrivers could have wish'd; and this may be a Key to unlock what remains. The Letter hath many Passages in't, to which I have already referr'd; therefore I will give it you at Large, and then make my Observations of what is Material to my present Purpose. The words are these.

Sometimes being admitted into the Company of Sir *Ed. Ashmole*, late deceased; at one particular time Sir *Ed.* shew'd me a Letter which was sent from R. D. and his Name subscribed to it; which Letter was Written in a piece of scanty, tatter'd Paper, and the Writing so bad, and ill spell'd, I could not well read some Words of it. I desired Sir *Ed.* that he would please to let me have the Letter, which he willingly granted: And on a Sunday, which I think was the next after I had the Letter, betwixt the times of Divine Service, I walk'd to the *Surey*, and Mr. *Roger Lacy* went along with me; which, to the best of my remembrance was but a very little time before the Fits left *Dugdale*. When I came there I produced this Letter, shewed it to him, and ask'd him whether he sent that Letter to Sir *Edm.* To which, as I remember at first, he made no direct, but an evasive, shuffling Answer: But before we parted he owned it, read all, or most part of it himself, and told me the meaning of some Words that I could not read. The substance of which Letter (to the best of my



my Remembrance) was as follows, (*viz.*) The Voice, as he called it, had told him a Fit, that his Distemper was *Obsession and Combination*; and that as long as those Men did come to him (meaning the Non-conformists) he might be Dumb and Deaf: That they did do him no Good; therefore desired Sir *Edm. Ashton* to lock up the Barn, and all; Meaning the *Surey* Barn, where those Ministers often Met; besides some Words of *Latin* in the same Letter, which I do not now Remember. His Father and Mother were present when I shewed the Letter to him, but both of them disowned any knowledge of either the writing, or sending it to Sir *Edm. Ashton*. Whereupon I urged, that some Body must necessarily be privy, to the writing or sending of it; because it was said, he knew nothing he spake or did when in a Fit, so must needs by some or other be told what this Voice (as he called it) had told him in the same Fit: To which I had no satisfactory Answer. The same time I told him, and his Parents, That some Money was in my Hands which was gathered of several Persons, that charitably gave it to be imploy'd for the help of the said *R. D.* and to that end, some eminent Doctor of Physick was intended to be made use of for him: To which his Mother immediately reply'd; *Alas! Its no Doctors will do him any Good!* I answered then, what must do him Good? For he, in his Letter to Sir *Edm. Ashton*, says, *That these 6 Men must do him no Good:* And told her, that I believed the Divines of the Church of *England*, lookt upon his Distemper to be Natural: And then I ask'd her what other Means was to be used, but that of Physick? And if that would not do, (I think I expressed some sharp Words in general, as if) a severe Course would be taken with him. And when I was going away, his Mother called to me, and told me, That (indeed) *R.* in his Fits named 3 Persons that might help him, and withal the several distances they lived from that Place: The particular distances, and 2 of the Names, I am not positive in, but one I very well remember she call'd *Penket*; another, I think, *Heskerb* or *Birker*; the Third, hath quite slipt my Memory; All which I understood to be Popish Priests; which gave me cause to think there was a Confederacy of some kind, either betwixt *Dugdale* and the Popish Priests from the beginning of the whole Matter, or at least one among another in *Dugdale's* Family; That after he had fateagued these Ministers, and got what he could by them and their Followers (the Gain much declining) he had a mind to fall into the Hands of the P. Priests, for a 2d Harvest: Which in all likelihood would have answered that end, and very well have pleased all sides; the Priests to have had the Glory of the Miracle, and He and his Family the Benefit of the Peoples Charity.

You find *R.* is here very positive, and therefore no doubt but he was resolved, That these Men *must do him no good*; If this be not the Language of a Combination, nothing can be. And then he that could tell who *must not do him good*, could also as well tell who *must do him good*: And we need no more to conclude who the Persons must be, than the Information that he gives us. And when I have made a few Observations on it, I think I shall leave it as clear as if the Demoniack himself confessed it. The Letter you find is positive as to *Penket* the Priest; another, he thinks, was *Heskerb*, or *Birker*; and the third he hath forgot: But I think he hath named them all; for the Narrative mentioning the corresponding with Popish Priests, p. 49. Puts down *P.* and *H.* which in the Margin of the Pamphlet, I had marked down to be *Penket*, and *Heskerb*, before I received this Letter. And that *Heskerb* was one of them, another passage I think will prove, which also at the same time will further confirm the Combination; it is, p. 42. where these Words are pretended to come out of the Lump, to a stranger, that laid his Hand upon it; *Too thou be a Dr. of Physick, thou canst not help Dicky; for none but Doctors of Divinity, can do him any good.* Now I am told, that *F. Heskerb* hath taken that Degree: And since none concerned with *R.* was D. D. unless *F. Heskerb*, he must be the Person designed in the Narrative by *H.* and also the same on whom *R.* did rely, for the doing him good; since none but he, was D. D. And this fully proves their Combination with the Papists. And I can add more; for after *R.* had named this D. D. that was to do him good, p. 42. the very next, p. 43. at their next Meeting, he tells the Ministers, *He resolved that this should be the last Prayer-day on his behalf, and that he would take another Course for his Help.* Now what other Course could he take, besides this of tack-ling over to the Popish Priests, who were the Persons he had named that were capable of doing him Good? As the Letter argues, the Dissenters *must not*; the Physicians they pre-



tend could not; the Divines of the Church of England lookt upon the whole to be a Cheat, and would not; what other Course therefore could he take, but to go over to the Priests, who had all along instructed him in the Intrigue? And I doubt not, but we had seen it, had not threats, and the Circumstances of these times prevented it.

5. But I think, I have in some measure discovered the Correspondence, which carried on the Combination; which is thus: R. after he had left the School, and learn'd his Trade of Gardening, went to live with a Gentleman, who is a Protestant, and highly to be commended for that he hath brought up his Children Protestants, their Mother being a zealous Papist. Here R. fell in League with M. R. the Chambermaid, a Papist, and the more to recommend himself to her, shew'd, as is supposed, what Agility he was of, in acting the Feats, that he was so skilful at, at the School. The Priests which occasionally came there, (for I cannot learn that any was Resident in the Family) and which I believe, might be the Three before mentioned, with some others; hearing of R's Activity, found him a Person capable of Acting the Demoniack: And the Face of Affairs then favouring them, the Prince of Wales being then born, and Popish Chappels erecting in most Places, where Congregations could be had; they (as is imagined) concluded to try how far they could prevail, and what interest they could make with R. to serve the Design they had in Hand. Hereupon it is believed, that they made use of the Chambermaid, who kept constant Correspondence with R. by Letters; one of which, was shewn to R. F. a learned Man, as they call'd him, or in the Narrators Language, a wise Man; the which when he had seen, he advis'd them to burn it, adding, That whoever writ it, might be Arraigned at the Bar for it: Which Counsel, (tho' it is conceived) that R. followed: Yet another of them we meet with in the Narrative, p. 21. where a Paper is said to be sent to R. with full Assurance, that if the said Ministers would once read it over him, whilst in his Fit, it would thoroughly Cure him; which (we are told) the said Ministers declined, knowing it was a Prayer prescribed in some Conjuring Book, or in Popish Exorcisms. R. for some Reasons, which I know not, removes from D. to Westby Hall, as the Narrative hath it, p. 4. where he had not been above 2 or 3 Months, but he begins to Act the Demoniack; whether there might not be some Medicaments, that the Priest might give him to induce those Convulsions, or they were Natural, I know not; But he is thence removed to his Father's House at the Surrey, which was the Stage where all those Scenes were Acted, that you have hitherto heard of. The Country was allarm'd with the wonderful Feats he played; but when the Priests should have appeared to play their Parts, the Revolution came on, and they durst not advance on the Stage. Things thus continued till the following Spring, when the Dissenting Ministers enter'd the Lists, promising themselves a rich Harvest from the Miracle they should Work: But the Priests easily discerning their blind side, by the aforesaid Chambermaid, did carry on (as I have said) the Intrigue, and diverted themselves with the Ministers Credulity; laugh'd behind the Curtain at the Fopperies, they saw them so much taken with; tho' sometimes as you have heard, they appear'd (tho' it was but like the Birds of Night) to seek their Prey; and after all, they had the pleasure to see the Ministers baffled; and what now is more, to see them print the Narrative as a real Truth, which themselves will know to be all over a Counterfeited Drama: Yea, I believe, they yet live in expectation of another pleasant Scene to laugh at; hoping since their Design on the Ministers, hath had its full Effect; that we in our Answer should be as inconsiderate as they have been, and looking only at the Puppets that Dance in sight, should not think of the Hand that Acted them behind the Curtain; and so fall wholly upon them (as we have Reason) with a just Indignation, not suspecting where the Spring lay that moved the Engine. But the Danger we stand in betwixt two such Mortal Enemies, to the best of Churches, as you Gentlemen, our unhappy Dissenting Brethren, that lift up your Heels against us, and the Papists are, keep us upon our Guard: We are not ignorant of the wicked Devices of the one, nor the credulous Superstition of the other; and that by the Grace of God, hath preserved us from falling into the Snare of the Hunter; and that *Dæmonium Meridianum* (as St. Jerome from the LXX. reads the Text,) Psalm. 91. 6. that you have been so very busie with. Never was such a Body of Men, that desire to be esteemed Learned, Judicious and Wise, made into such Tools as you have been; you have been more  
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ward all along to Act, than the Priest could be to Prompt; and have out-done every thing that they could put you on. We have always acquainted the World, that you, Gentlemen, by your Unchristian division from us, have made your selves the Ministers of Popery, and (to use Mr. C.'s words of Satan, p. 35.) *as if you would leave no room for Unbelief, but inforce the said Arguments into a Demonstration*; herein you have been Diminutive Slaves to them, and if Times would have permitted, had brought them a rich Harvest. And thus,

5 By your Superstitious Credulity, which I shall quickly dispatch, for the Ministers were found such coming Creatures, that the Priests perceiving they swallowed all that was offer'd, had the Insolence, as the Narrative informs you, *To send a Paper* (and how it was sent, I have already told you) to *Richard*, (which is an unanswerable Argument also, of his Corresponding with them) *with full assurance, that if the said Ministers would once read it over him whilst in a Fit, it would througly Cure him*, p. 21. 'Tis true, they declined it; but this shews, that their long and ready Complaisance, had made the Priests presume, that in this also (out of the Ambitious desire of being thought to have cast out a Devil) they would have yielded to it. And I dare engage, had they done it, the Devil for some time would have Vanished. I will not insist on the Moule and the Flies, of which the Minister seems no less Credulous, than the People, of which before. But I am obliged to take Notice,

1. Of the Commission which the Devil produced, wherein he was allowed to Possess *Richard* 600 Days, say the Dissenting Expositors, which I have shewed them to be wrong in; and therefore 600 Hours, say I, which I shall endeavour to Illustrate. And p. 24. we are told, that on a Fast-day, *Sept. 3d*, *Satan* had said, *That he would spare Dicky 50 days longer, but then he would carry him to Hell*. For the issue of which, we are referr'd to the Discourse on *Octob. 22*. This took with the Ministers, as you find by Mr. C.'s being on all Four, to prevent the fatal Calamities of that Day, p. 42. When the Papists understood how the Project took, what do they do, but Trump a Commission upon the Ministers, *Sept. 26*, which the Devil promiseth e'er long to produce to Mr. C. p. 28. And this the Devil Vomits up *Octob. 10*, p. 31. In which is the Number 600, which I say refers to Hours; and prove it thus. This Commission was first mentioned you see, *Sept. 26*, and the Devil had threatned to carry *Rich.* away, *Octob. 22*. as is said before. Now, from *Sept. 26*, to *Octob. 22*, or the day when the Commission was first named, to the day the Devil was to take *Rich.* are 25 interjacent days, which being broken into Hours, exactly make up this Number of 600: For that I may make it easie to the meanest Reader, let him set aside the 4 Hours above 20 in every day, and the remaining 20 Hours, will in 25 days be 500 Hours, every five days making 100 Hours, the 4 being deduced; then to them add 25 times four Hours, which were deducted from those days, and these will make another 100: So that the space of 25 days is exactly 600 Hours, which is the Number in the Commission produced, and which ended at the very break of that day, on which the Devil had threatned to take away *Richard*. And this at once shews, both who they were that contrived the Commission, and how the Ministers were managed by vertue of their own Superstitious Credulity. And there is one Circumstance that unanswerably discovers the Knavery of this Commission, and the easiness of Managing our Dissenting Ministers, when Vain-glory is at the bottom; and it is that of Time; which had not the aforesaid Vice blinded our Dissenters Eyes, they could not but have seen: For when this Commission first was Nam'd, p. 28. we are told, That the Devil was Impower'd by it to Trouble *Richard* for *Eighteen Months*: But, when the Commission is produced, it is for 600; let it be Days, or Weeks, or Hours, or what you will, it will not agree with the term of 18 Months; which might have discovered to the Dissenting Ministers, had they not run hand-over-head, that there was Inconsistency in the matter, and therefore Knavery in it. But they were so full of themselves and the



Spirit they had to deal with, that they could not see what all the World cannot but see. However, this confirms my Conjecture of Hours, for it clearly shews, that the Priests upon second Thoughts, resolved to make the Term of the Commission coincide with the 22d of October, (*viz.*) The day which they had fixed on before, for the Devils carrying *Richard* away, as is above said, and that required only 600 Hours.

2. They are as forward to believe a Contract betwixt *Richard* and the Devil; for tho' they had no other Knowledge of this, but what in a Fit the Devil (a Person that throughout the whole Narrative they give Credit to) did acquaint them with, p. 26. Yet as you have heard, they Search'd *Richard's* Box for it, and tho' they did not find it, yet they still believe it, and think that the success of their Endeavours was amongst other Causes, hinder'd by *Richard* and his Friends slowness in confessing all they knew of a more full Contract with Satan, p. 49. Nay, they seem by their Fancifulness, to have given the Priests occasion for the making such a Contract; for p. 3. it's said, That *Richard* had an Apparition of the Devil pointing at something which the said *Richard* had lately done, which we (saith the Narrative) concluded was *Richard's* offering himself to the Devil, as a Bond, or some other Compact or consent to Satan, for the satisfying his Desires of, &c.

And no doubt, but on these Suggestions of the Ministers, we had had a Formal Contract too, had the Farce continued a little longer; but the Ministers grew weary, finding they could do no Good, and *Richard* was threatned with Warrants; so that it was time for him to accept of a Physician. And thus I suppose the Contract was prevented.

3. The next Instance shall be the Tumour, which I have shewed to be Symptomatic of his Fit approaching. You have heard the Fancy of the People upon it: Now pray hear what the Ministers say of it; and we are told, p. 42. That out of it Satan spake several Noises and Voices. To Name it, is sufficient to Expose it; for it was *Richard's* custom to make Fops believe, that it was the Devil that moved there. This Dr. Buckley in his Letter takes Notice of. Sometimes (saith he) he was troubled with Spasms, or Convulsive Twitchings of particular Muscles, as whilst I staid, of those of the Abdomen, which he being beforehand instructed to improve to his purpose, attributed to the sudden Motion of the Evil Spirit within him, endeavouring to persuade the People that the Devil Possessed this or that part of the Body, as those Spasms affected this or that Member. He desired me to lay my Hand upon his Belly, and feel the motion of the Spirit. I complied with him; but withal rebuked him Severely for his Impudence, assuring him, a Spirit had neither Flesh nor Bones, therefore could not be felt; so of Necessity, it must be his Distemper, not the Devil that produced these Irregular Motions.

You see how *Richard*, that could speak out of his Belly, imposed upon the Credulous Ministers: And had these Learned Men but had as much sound Divinity, as my Friend the Physician hath shewed, they would never have been inveigled into the Belief of such a ridiculous Story, as they here openly publish unto the World. Yea,

4. So fully was Mr. Jolly possessed of *Richard Dugdale's* being Possessed by the Devil, that hearing of some of Mr. C's Unbelievers, that denied (or at least much doubted of the Matter) that on Tuesday the 27th of August, 1689, in his Prayer at the *Surey*, he requested of God in these very Words, or words to this Sense, That Satan might appear, or seem to be in those that did not beleve him to be in that young Man by way of Possession, that others may take Warning, and thereby Learning. Here is a Flight of Praying by the Spirit, with a Witness! Yet such was the Sacrifices that these Ministers offered to God Almighty.

So true is this Relation, that the Person that heard it, *viz.* T. A. being justly Scandalized therewith, he went to his Brother R. A. and informed him of it; who meeting soon after with Mr. Waddington (who prayed that Day immediately before Mr. Jolly) he acquainted him with this Mr. Jolly's prophane and cursing Petition. Mr. Waddington would have evaded it, but being charged home, and the thing positively asserted, he answered, If Mr. Jolly uttered such Words he was to blame for it. A

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soft Answer this, and agreeable to the Temper of the Party, when the Honour of God is invaded by a Brother. This same Mr. Jolly at Darwen, and elsewhere, hath affirmed, *That there was as great reason to believe R. Dugdale to be possessed with the Devil (and consequently Dispossessed by him) as there was to believe that any were Possessed in the Gospel.* Which Words if they be not Blasphemy, border so near upon it, that had any Tongue uttered them, but that of a Phanatick, it ought to have been bored through with an hot Iron. But we must spare them.

Now, if any ask me, what should make the Dissenters work themselves into the belief of such an Idle Dream, (for as Lyars by often telling a Lye at length bring themselves to fancy it a Truth, so I cannot be perswaded my self but that the Dissenters forc'd Nature, and their Judgment too, before they could well Digest it, which I shall shew in some, if not in all of them) It is easily discovered to be Interest and Vain Glory.

1. That Interest, as well as Vain Glory, was one end, that they aim'd at, appears from what we meet with, p. 38. where speaking of *October 11th, 1689.* Fast-day was kept at the Surey, we are told, *That Multitudes flock'd thither as formerly, many of them coming from far, and many all along seem'd wrought on by that Providence, and the Ordinances together, as appeared from the several Lectures that through this Occasion were desired to be set up by the said Ministers, where there had been none before.* You see what the Ministers aim'd at; and well the Plot took; for the Account of their Meeting-places stood thus, *August 5. 1696.*

Upon Inspection of the Records of the Quarter Sessions *Com. Lane.* It appears that the Dissenters have brought 244 Certificates, for so many Meeting places for their Religious Worship (as they call it) all which are recorded by Order of the Justices: And this at first sight may amuse the World with their seeming Multitudes. But of these 244 allowed Places, there have been brought by the Quakers 89 Certificates; the other Dissenters have 155 Places Recorded for them. I shall say no more of the Quakers, because here I have to deal with the other Dissenters; all whose Preachers for these Places were from the first 51 Persons, which have taken the Oaths, and subscribed the Articles of Religion, as the Act requires; and of these 51 Ministers two of them have since conformed to the establish'd Church; and seven more are Dead: So that there are now but 42 Preachers, that are Qualified to supply 155 licensed Places.

These same Persons not many Years ago, out of the tenderness of their Conscience, used to declaim against Pluralities, and what is the consequence of that, Non-residence; but you find their Conscience is like other Mens, when Interest is at the Bottom. Here are 42 Dissenting Ministers, that have 155 Places to supply, and I challenge them to pick if they can, any 42 Persons out of the whole Church of England, and I allow them both Provinces to seek for them in, that have so many Cures upon their Hands, as these 42 in one single County have. I suppose therefore we shall henceforth hear no more from them of the outcry of Pluralities, and Non-residence.

But let us proceed to inquire how many legal Hearers these 42 Dissenting Preachers have. The Act requires those that would Qualify themselves to be hearers, to take (as well as their Preachers) the Oaths to the Government, and to make, and subscribe the Declaration against Popery, in the 30th of King Charles; and this is to be done at the Quarter Sessions, where they are to tender themselves before the Justices to do it; and the Justices thereupon are required to keep a Register of their Names upon that account, for their Exemption. Now of all this Party, or Parties, out of their old Spirit of contempt of Authority, there are but 14 Persons found, that have qualified themselves to be Hearers; the Case therefore with these Dissenters is thus; There are 14 qualified Hearers, for 42 Preachers, and 42 Preachers for 155 Places; Nor will all this suffice them, but they invade our consecrated Chappels, and of late have got one, where the Dissenting Preacher had (as I am told) no less



than six several Certified places in the Neighbourhood, and one of them I know to be within some few Rods of the Chappel ; yet nothing would serve them but the Chappel it self, and they have it.

2. As for vain Glory, 'tis that which the Narrative all along Trumpets, tho' Mr. C. is mounted in it to the highest Pinacle ; and for fear he should not sound his own Praise loud enough, he gets Satan to be his Assistant ; who lest the World should not know what Postures of Prayer Mr. C. useth, tells of his being on all four, p. 42. and thereupon gives Mr. C. an opportunity of informing us more particularly, *That he, as Josuah, Jos. 7. 6. fell to the Earth on his Face, with his Soul as Davids bowed down to the Dust, and his Belly cleaving unto the Ground, p. 41. Now tho' Mr. C. was loth to speak of such a Secret, Mat. 6. 6, 18. Yet considering the wonderfulness of Satans discovering such a Design, and time. and posture of a Prayer, put up at so many Miles distance, and then utterly unknown to any besides the Minister himself, he hoped it might be useful to acknowledge it as abovesaid, p. 42. And thus Satan gave Mr. C. an occasion of making his Prayers as publick, as if he had been standing in the Synagogue, or in the Corners of the Streets, that he might have been seen of Men. But pray Mr. C. do you think you can make any Mortal Man believe, that the acknowledgment, you make the Devil to make, on the behalf of your Commendations, was really the Devils ? You make him say, p. 42. *Dicky thou didst this Day narrowly escape me, and thou mayest thank my Tormentor, as long as thou livest, and do for him all that lies in thy Power, by way of acknowledgment, since but for him, thou hadst this Day been carried to Hell, but my Tormentor was last Wednesday on all four, and therefore I could not carry thee to Hell.**

One would take this Devil to be a good Friend of Mr. C. who adviseth Richard to be thus thankful to him ; and I very much Question whether Richard was more beholden to Mr. C. for his being on all four, than Mr. C. is beholden to this Devil for the laudable Council he gives Richard : And what is it but vain Glory ? When the Ministers, taking notice of the discoveries the Demoniack is pretended to make of Mens secret Transactions, are brought in to bless God, for that they were kept from such gross Sins, as might have made them fear the Devils tell-tale Babling, p. 12. I know not what the Devils tell-tale Babling was, but I am sure this looks near a kin to that Pharisaical Opinionativeness of their own Perfections, which our Saviour condemns, Luk. 18. 11. *God I thank thee that I am not as other Men are, &c.* And from what I have Writ, I believe the Reader may be induced to think, they might with more Integrity have blessed God, had they been kept by his Grace, from that palpable insincerity and dishonesty, that in this Monument of the Surey Demoniack, they are found notoriously Guilty of.

But what fuller proof can there be of their Thirst after vain-glory, than this their claim and pretence to have cast out a Devil, which they wholly despair'd of, (as I have shewn at large) and left a Month before the Cure was wrought ? But when they see the Gentlemen Dead, that were chiefly concerned in the Affair, some Years after the Thing was over, and many Passages forgot, they begin to muster Evidences to prove a Possession, that they may lay claim to the Dispossession. And tho' not one Man of them all was with Richard, Mar. 24 1682. Yet they pretend a Fast-day for him, which they held in Utopia, or the World in the Moon, and can tell the very Words that Satan spoke to Richard ; which no Mortals but themselves (that were not with him) pretend to hear, p. 50. viz.

*Now Dicky, I must leave thee, and must Afflict thee no more as I have done, &c.* Alas poor Satan ! What a Solemn Parting is here with Richard. Upon which (as there follows) *Richard's Body was Toss'd and Tortur'd, as if something was a tearing it pieces, and it was Strain'd and Stretch'd, as if it were a Vomiting : Where nothing visibly appeared to come out of him ; and yet Satan, or whatsoever had Troubled him before, did therein evidently come from, or out of him.*



How Mr. C? Did *nothing Visibly appear, and yet something Evidently came out?* You began with the Blunder of a *Dumb Speaking Devil*, and you end with another of *Evident Invisibilty*: And so it is high time for me to end with you.

Only at the parting, give me leave to inform the World, that you seem to have forced your Judgment into the Opinion of your Dispossessing *R. Dugdale*. For the time was, that, conscious of your Disability, some of you suspected Witchcraft, as I before from your selves have notified; and others then affirmed it to be a Cheat: But when *Dr. Chew* had effected his Cure, and the Persons were safe in their Graves that moved him to it; then out of the pride of your Hearts, and a vain glorious Desire to be thought Miracle-Mongers, you reassume your baffled Pretences, and hoping through the distance of Time, that most passages would be forgot, you venture to Print the Posthumous Spawn of your conceived Superstition. Thus *Mr. Pendlebury* is brought in, as an occasional Minister, assisting at these Meetings; and as I conceive (for the Authors have so conclusively ordered the Matter, that I may be, I confess, mistaken in my Inference; which if I be, the fault is theirs, that affect such Darkness, and fear the Light) a Witness to the Truth of the Narrative; but this same Person had before the Cure was wrought, a different Opinion of it; as will appear from this Testimony.

Rockdale, March, 23. 1696.

*I* *Elizabeth Mills*, of *Rockdale*, formerly Servant to *Mr. Manbaw Hollis*, of *Rockdale*, heard *Mr. Pendlebury* say, That he had been at the *Surey*, three or four times, but he wou'd go no more, thinking it to be a Cheat, to get Mony.

*Elizabeth Mills*, and *Mr. Pendlebury*, are since dead, and I leave it to *Mr. C.* and his Brethren, whether they have Subscribed his Name, as a Witness to the Truth of the Narrative, or only as an Operator in it. If the first, you find when he saw the Cure effected, that he changed his Mind, and would attribute that to a Diabolical Operation, which before he believed to be a Cheat. If the last, he discovered it to be a Cheat, and resolv'd to go thither no more; and I leave it to the Ministers, to make their own choice about him, for either will prove all that I desire.

Then comes the Medicus, *R. Whitaker*, and he Testifieth, *as he saith many more will* (what he means by that, I know not; but if he means Physitians, he is grossly deceived, for as many as I have yet spoke with, or got my Friends to speak with, that saw *Richard* in his Fits, declare the contrary) *from his own observation, as an Eye, and Ear Witness, at the Meetings concerning Richard Dugdale; that he doth verily believe, he was then under a Diabolical Possession, or Obsession: He doth also Testify, That he is now fully delivered from that Supernatural Malady, and that no other probable Means of his said deliverance may be Assigned, but the Word of God, and Prayer with Fasting; which Spiritual Means were made use of, by several Ministers, with great Faithfulness and Diligence, for a considerable time together,*

Witness my Hand, this 10th of June,  
1695. *Robert Whitaker*, Medicus.

P. 64. This Attester is of the same Stamp with *Mr. Folly's* Evidences, a Creature of their own. I am told he was sometimes a petty School-master, and then ventured to set up for a Doctor; but be what he will, and let him say what he will, when he sees *Richard* healed; the time was, when he thought otherwise, and believed the whole would prove a Cheat: Of which the following Letter, from the Reverend *Mr. Townley*, Rector of *Sladeburn*, to *Mr. White*, will give the Reader satisfaction.

Mr,



Mr. White,

I do perfectly remember, that after some Popelings from *Stonyhurst*, and other Places had been at the *Surey*, I was Discourfing with Dr *Whitaker* of it; who upon fome Suggestions I made to him, touching the likelyhood of what would happen upon Application of fuch Politick Intriguers; he without the leaft Hefitation, replyed, That he did really believe the whole Matter would prove a Cheat; and that they, (*viz.*) (the Popifh Priests) would come in, and reap the Honour of Cafting out the Devil; which others had Fruitlefly attempted, &c

This was the Medicafters Opinion, and from it, I leave the Reader to judge, whether or no, we may not conclude, that the Party, out of a piece of Vain Glory, when they faw the Cure effected, did not force upon themfelves, the belief of a Difpoffeffion, which they had formerly defpaired of, and defifted from profecuting? *Whitaker* himfelf is jealous, that the Popifh Priests would come in, and reap the Honour of Cafting out the Devil, which others had Fruitlefly attempted. And this is a further confirmation of two main Things, that I have infifted on, (*viz.*) The Inability of the Minifters, to caft out the Devil, that was in their Demoniack. And 2dly, The Combination that was carried on, by a Correspondence with Popifh Priests.

I fhall leave the Reader to judge as he pleafeth of the whole; only I may fay, That I have more Arguments for every thing I have offered thence. Since I find I am tedious, I am willing to insert, I have Letters and Testimonies by me, that I have made no ufe of. I have omitted many things in the Narrative, which are for my purpofe: Such is Mr. *Waddington's* acquainting us, that *Richard* delivered a written Paper to Mr. *Folly*, wherein was fignified, *That the Spirit had told him, that he fhould continue Deaf and Dumb a Month together, if the Minifters Prayed fo long; and that time it was verified, for Deafnefs and Dumbnefs feized upon him, when we went forth to the place of Prayer; and continued till the conclufion of the Exercife, p. 22.* And Mr. *W.* was that a Month, as the Spirit had told him? If it was, you were long Winded indeed; if it was not, either You or the Spirit, are not to be believed. But you go on, and tell us, *Upon the backfide of the Paper was fignified what his Diftemper was, viz. Obfeffion in and with a Combination: Thefe words were fuggested to him in a Fit, and thefe with much difficulty, he wrote the Morning after the Fit, ibid.* Did he fo? Then he was fenfible in his Fit, and his Memory did not fail him. And did he tell you of a Combination? What dull Souls were you, that would not underftand it; when Mr. *C.* but the Page before, nay, in the very fame, is discourfing of the Popifh Priests that did (as you have it in the foregoing Letter) frequent him? Why fhould I mention, that the only Gentleman that was amongft you, as a Confident, is fince turn'd Papift? I referve this with the reft of my Memorials, and Observations, for a fecond Rebound, if your Stomach be fo ftout, as to attempt an Answer.

Now, Reader, let me beg of you, to reflect a little upon this pretendedly Religious Scene, that was Acted at the *Surey*, and thofe that were inferiour Agents in it. We have feen Religion fadly abused, by the Credulity of an Active, Ambitious, Designing Party; and had they fat down content, when they faw themfelves baffled, and fuffered their Folly to have fleep in Silence; they might have born up the Head a little in the World: But I know not what Spirit of Infatuation, mov'd them to lay their Wicked Practices open before the Sun; for to publifh abroad fuch a Superftitious, Popifh piece of Priest-Craft, as this Enterprife of theirs is; it is a greater Argument of their Vanity, than their acting in it was. For they might at firft be engaged in it, through the weakness of their Credulity; but when they faw themfelves worfted in it, they could have no Motives to publifh it, but the audacious Wickednefs of vain Glory. And never was fo much Insolence feen in any thing, as in the daring Attempt of thefe Diffenting Minifters. Did ever fuch a bundle of manifef Inconfiftencies, and apparent Untruths, appear in the World, under the Hands and Countenances, of thofe that call themfelves God's Minifters, as thefe Sheets contain? Can you meet with groffer Superftition, and more frothy Difcourfe, than their Conferences with Satan



Satan offered us? Or had ever the Father of Lies, more Credit among his own Children, than these Gentlemen, that lay claim to be the Servants of Christ, give him in all the words that he in the supposed Demoniack speaks, or the discoveries he pretends to make? If the *Surey* Transactions were chiefly a Juggle (as I have proved them) what an Impious Affront have these Men offered to God Almighty; that have presumptuously attributed that to his Spirit, and their Prayers; which is wholly owing to the Sins and Cheats of Men?

But what can we expect from such Men, as stick at nothing to obtain Applause? What base Insincerities are they found Guilty of. Insincerities! What Legends and Romances? What Lies and Forgeries, and all those Sanctified with Prayer and Fasting? What will not blind Zeal, and the Spirit of Division, lead Men to? Pray God open their Eyes, that they may Repent, and the Eyes of those that are guided by them, that they may see the things belonging to their Peace; for if the Blind lead the Blind, both must of necessity fall into the Ditch.

Here any one that will, may see the natural tendency of Fanaticism and Division; it leads Men, by the warmth of their Fancy, and the opinion of serving God, (which let them call it what they will, is nothing else but downright Will-Worship) into the grossest Mistakes, the worst of Errors, and the vilest Superstition that are possible for Christians to be Ensnared in. Had these Gentlemen acted with more Prudence and Sobriety; or had they consulted with the Clergy of the Church of *England*, they either would have been preserved from falling into the Snare, or they would not have been so foully intangled in it. Had they shewn to some of them, those Papers which *Richard* is supposed to Vomit, (and they confess they could not read them) the Game which the Popish Priests were playing, would soon have been at an end; and perhaps some Discoveries might have been made, of Service both to Church and State: But they were resolved, that none should be admitted to Rival their Glory, and therefore they would neither consult them in the Management of the Affair, nor be advised by them afterwards. And to what issue they have now brought the Matter, I suppose by this time they are sensible. But how ought we to Pity those poor People that are deluded into a good Opinion of such Guides as these are! What can they expect from Men that have no more Sincerity nor Judgment than these have? The want of a sound Judgment, makes them incapable to Preach the Truth: And the want of Sincerity, (were they Capable) makes the Truth Preached, lyable to Suspicion.

Now the taking a Disease for a Possession, and a Cheat for a Demoniack, shews the Weakness of our Dissenting Ministers Judgment: And the miserably false Representation of things, which appears through the Narrative, plainly shews their Insincerity; And whoever dare commit the care of their Souls to Men that want both Judgment and Sincerity, have either a mean Opinion of the worth of their Souls, or are Besottedly Indifferent what becomes of them. Such an evident Discovery of the want of these two Qualifications, as the Narrative supplies us with, will, I hope, open all Sober, Thinking, and good Men's Eyes, and bring them, (if they have chanced to have gone Astray) into the Bosom of that Church, where there is Zeal, govern'd by Knowledge; Order, without Confusion; Worship, without Superstition; Fasting, without Hypocrisy; Prayer, without feeding on our Neighbours Houses, and Casting Devils out of Souls and Lives of men, without Exposing the Cause of God and Religion, to the increase of Atheism and Prophaneness, Superstition and Idolatry.



